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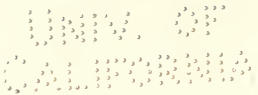

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THE MARQUESS OF DUFFERIN AND AVA

K.P., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., P.C.

DIPLOMATIST, VICEROY, STATESMAN

By CHARLES E. DRUMMOND BLACK
Part Author and Editor of *The Rival Powers in Central Asia* also Author of *A Memoir on the Indian Surveys*, 1875—1890

WITH 24 FULL-PAGE ILLUSTRATIONS, AND A FRONTISPIECE PORTRAIT IN PHOTOGRAVURE

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PREFACE

THE preparation of this work was suggested to me in 1895, some time after I had retired from the India Office, and I communicated accordingly with the late Lord Dufferin, who had read a book of mine on India, and had been kind enough, some two years previously, to write to me in appreciative terms thereof. On the subject of his own biography he expressed himself mildly and sceptically as to the interest it would arouse, although he admitted that he had had very varied experiences in many lands. He recommended me to consult an experienced publisher before undertaking the task. This I did, and on receiving a favourable response, and on Lord Dufferin promising to help me, I visited him in Paris and again in London. In the course of these interviews he was kind enough to supply me with a quantity of material, both published and confidential, which he was certain would prove

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of assistance to me. He also narrated to me, at various times, a budget of those amusing personal reminiscences which he knew so well how to render attractive in the ears of his hearers. In the autumn of 1901 I visited him again at Clandeboye, where he was kind enough to glance through a portion of this book and make some comments thereon, and to discuss the project further. At his suggestion I determined to reduce the dimensions of the work from two volumes to one, as he informed me that the publication of his private correspondence, which he pointed out to me, and which was of a most voluminous character, occupying over a score or so of bound tomes, would be a long task devolving on others after his decease. I duly acceded to this wish and submitted to him the general scheme of my proposed work, which he approved of. I am sorry I had not made more progress with the work between 1896 and 1902, but absence in the Far East, and important work on a rather urgent Royal Commission intervened, and monopolised my time. However, it is a satisfaction to me that my project had the advantage of his assistance and good will. I have also to express my acknowledgments to the present Marquess of Dufferin and Ava, to Lord

Strathcona and Mount Royal, to the Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, to Major General Sir Edwin Collen, and various other friends who have obligingly assisted me.

But it will of course be understood that in spite of all the kind aid I have received in this task, the entire responsibility must rest on the writer. As far as the matter of the work is concerned, it is derived from a large number of sources, besides those materials placed at my disposal by the late Marquess; but I cannot omit expressing my special indebtedness to Mr. Leggo and Mr. Stewart's books on the Canadian Viceroyalty, to Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace's works, as well as to Lord Dufferin's own introduction to the poems and verses of his mother, all of which he specially commended to my notice.

CHARLES E. DRUMMOND BLACK.

April, 1903.

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A BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR

OF THE LATE

Marquess of Dufferin and Ava

CHAPTER I

THE BLACKWOOD FAMILY—THE SHERIDANS—BIRTH OF LORD DUFFERIN—DEATH OF PRICE, THE MARQUESS'S FATHER—EARLY LIFE—OXFORD TO SKIBBEREEN—AN EARLY SPEECH ON IRISH LAND

FREDERICK TEMPLE HAMILTON-TEMPLE-BLACKWOOD, first Marquess of Dufferin and Ava, was born at Florence on June 21st, 1826. On both the father and mother's sides he came of an old and distinguished stock. The Blackwoods originally belonged to Fifeshire, and passed over into Ulster in the reign of Queen Elizabeth at the same time that James Hamilton, the first Lord Clandeboye, "settled" the northern half of the County Down. The coats of arms of the Blackwoods are displayed as early as 1400: one William Blackwood died fighting against the English at the battle of Pinkie in 1547, and his son Adam was a trusted follower and biographer of Mary Queen of Scots.

The Ulster Blackwoods (there was also a French branch which became extinct in 1837) sat in the Irish Parliament continuously throughout the best part of the eighteenth century. They were created baronets in 1763, and were promoted to the peerage in 1800 as Barons Dufferin and Clandeboye. The father of the first peer was Sir John Blackwood, a strong Whig, who on two occasions refused an earldom; but his eldest son was a personal friend and neighbour of Castlereagh's, and received the offer of a peerage in a more acquiescent spirit. Through his mother he was the heir-general of the Hamiltons, Viscounts Clandeboye, Earls of Clanbrassil, on which account the second title of Clandeboye was conferred.

James, the first Lord Dufferin, was a most kind-hearted as well as a very brave man. When commanding his regiment in the South of Ireland, a soldier, maddened by some supposed grievance, rushed at him with a pistol. He wrenched it from the man's hand and with generous presence of mind contrived to empty the pan of its priming, and then turning to his officers, said, "It is nothing, the pistol is not even loaded." Many similar traits have been repeated to the Marquess by those who knew the old baron.

A second baronetcy was conferred in 1814, on another distinguished member of the family—Admiral Sir Henry Blackwood, grand-uncle of the Marquess. He was a fine seaman, and commanded Nelson's squadron of frigates at Trafalgar,

and it was on him that fell the sorrowful duty of bringing the hero's body home. He also had the honour of conducting Louis XVIII. and his family back to Paris, and of escorting the allied Sovereigns to England. Two exploits of his are specially memorable:[1] one, when commanding a 36-gun frigate, the *Penelope*, he successfully engaged and smashed the *Guillaume Tell*, an 80-gun line-of-battle-ship, and on a previous occasion when, in July, 1798, he, though commanding a small frigate of twenty-eight guns—the *Brilliant*, beat off the attack of two French 44-gun ships. A characteristically generous appreciation of this feat finds place in the "Biographie Générale":

> Sa haute capacité et sa bravoure éclatèrent de nouveau dans le combat qu'il soutint contre deux frégates françaises, la *Vertu* et la *Régénerée*, chacun de quarante-quatre canons: il leur causa d'assez grands dommages, et parvint à leur échapper.

The present representative of this Baronetcy is Sir Francis Blackwood; and the late Sir Arthur Blackwood, Secretary to the General Post Office, was a grandson of the old Admiral.

To revert to the main line, Hans, Lord Dufferin, the son of James, the first peer, had three sons; but the eldest was carried off by a chance round-shot in the few days fighting that ranged round Waterloo, and the second died of fever at Naples.

These deaths in the family made Price, the

[1] See article by the late Marquess in *Youth's Companion* (Boston, Mass.), December 25th, 1902.

Marquess's father, heir to the title and estates; but Price had at first little else than his pay as a naval officer to live upon. In these circumstances his union to the lady of his choice—Miss Helen S. Sheridan, was deemed very imprudent by his relations and friends. She was only seventeen, and a most lovely and fascinating creature. In his filial solicitude to do justice to the memory of his beloved mother, Lord Dufferin seems to have fairly exhausted the language of affection. But the common consent of those who had the privilege of her acquaintance agrees with the following loving description in her son's memoir:

> One of the sweetest, most beautiful, most accomplished, wittiest, most loving and lovable human beings that ever walked upon the earth. There was no quality wanting to her perfection; and I say this, not prompted by the partiality of a son, but as one well acquainted with the world, and with both men and women. There have been many ladies who have been beautiful, charming, witty, and good, but I doubt whether there have been any who have, combined with so high a spirit, and with so natural a gaiety and bright an imagination as my mother's, such strong, unerring good sense, tact, and womanly discretion. Her wit—or, rather, her humour—her gaiety, her good taste she may have owed to her Sheridan forefathers; but her firm character and abiding sense of duty she derived from her mother; and her charm, grace, amiability, and lovableness from her angelic ancestor—Miss Linley.

These references call here for further notice of so charming a personality. Helen Selina, Baroness Dufferin and Clandeboye, was the daughter of

Photo by] [*J. Mack, Coleraine.*

HELEN, LADY DUFFERIN.

(From a bust.)

[*To face p.* 4.

Thomas Sheridan, and the grand-daughter of the Right Honourable Richard Brinsley Butler-Sheridan.

The Sheridans, though they experienced subsequent reverses, were originally an ancient, rich, and important family, possessing castles and lands in the County Cavan, a tract of which is marked in the old maps of the period as "the Sheridan County"; but in Queen Elizabeth's time their property was escheated, as Thomas Sheridan bitterly complained before the Bar of the House of Commons in 1680. They were driven from their homes and were forced during the next two hundred years to fight the battle of life under what were always discouraging, and sometimes desperate, conditions. As Lord Dufferin not unfairly surmises, it is perhaps to these persecutions of Fate that their continuous intellectual activity may be attributed.

The first of the line who fairly could claim to literary eminence was Denis Sheridan, the son of Donald and of a daughter of the O'Neill. He must have been born about the year 1600. He had quitted the Catholic fold to become a Protestant clergyman, and a devoted disciple of Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore, under whose direction he translated the English version of the Bible into the Irish language. Behind the Palace of Kilmore, where Bedell is interred, there lies an intricate network of lake scenery amid hills and wooded lowlands. Here is Trinity Island, where stands a ruined abbey, and many legends about the Sheridans linger round this spot. It is said that the first of the family

settled here from Spain, being sent over by the Pope of Rome in the fifth or sixth century, and founded a school of learning on the island, which he enriched with a library of manuscripts. This insular University was presided over from generation to generation by one of the Sheridan family.

Many of the Sheridans claim notice for their eminence in various walks of life: two sons of Denis were bishops, and a third, the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Sheridan, was author of a remarkable work published in 1677, entitled "The Rise and Power of Parliament." In the next generation Dr. Thomas Sheridan, son of Denis' fourth son James, was a person of simple and very agreeable disposition. He adopted the calling of a schoolmaster, and was intimate with Dean Swift, and people used to say that Sheridan's wit and sweet gaiety played the part of David's harp that conjured the evil spirit out of Saul—*i.e.*, the Dean. The two used often to meet at Quilcagh, Sheridan's country house, where "Gulliver's Travels" received their final touches, and "Stella's Bower" was situated.

The son of the foregoing, also called Thomas, was an enthusiastic educational reformer, and both wrote and lectured on his favourite subject. He was the intimate friend of Garrick and of Johnson, for whom he was instrumental in getting a pension. He died in 1788, leaving two sons—Charles, who became a member of the Irish Parliament, and the author of "The School for Scandal."

Of the latter, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, his great-grandson remarks that no famous man has been more unfortunate in his biographers; for Moore tired of the task, thereby provoking from George IV. the remark that the writer of the book had better abscond, "for cutting and maiming and barbarously attempting the life of Sheridan!" The latter has been described by a competent reviewer as "for thirty years the most brilliant talker, the greatest conversationalist of the splendid circle in which he moved." But, as already mentioned, his biographies are not trustworthy, Mr. Smyth's being full of exaggerations and misrepresentations. Lord Dufferin, however, made a grateful exception in the case of Mr. Fraser Rae's book, to which he himself wrote an introduction. The "Encyclopædia Britannica" article remarks:

> Tradition has attached to his name dozens of mythical anecdotes, as examples of his wit, his frolicsome humour, his habits of procrastination, his pecuniary embarrassments, and his methods of escaping from them, for which there was really no foundation. The real Sheridan as he was known in private life, is irrevocably gone.

As Lord Dufferin remarks in a pathetic passage in his "Memoir" on his mother:

> Those who have recorded their impressions in regard to Sheridan, knew him only when he was old and broken, his gaiety all quenched (though his wit still flickered in the socket), the adherent of a disorganised party, a man utterly ruined by the burning of Drury Lane Theatre, pestered by petty debts, yet sufficiently

formidable to provoke detraction at the hands of his political enemies, while his fame exposed him to the curiosity and criticism of the gossips.

He was without doubt a very fascinating personage, as one might almost gather from the portrait in the library at Clandeboye; he had genially good nature, charming manners—his splendid eyes, as his great-grandson remarks, were "the very home of genius," and his extraordinary liveliness and wit made him a favourite with the best English society. His eloquence, his Parliamentary gifts, and his general abilities at once placed him on a level with the greatest orators and statesmen of the time.

Like so many men in those days he was fond of wine, and unfortunately it affected him more than it did his seasoned friends. As a contrast, Lord Dufferin has cited the case of his paternal grandfather, who never had a day's illness and lived till eighty-one. This hale old gentleman would begin a convivial evening with a bottle of port as a "clearer," and continued with four bottles of claret. Nevertheless, he always retired to rest in a state of perfect though benevolent sobriety. His grandson amusingly remarks that some of his predecessors by thus overdrawing the family account with Bacchus, had left him a water-drinker who had thereby incurred the reproach of degeneracy.

It is a proof of Sheridan's delicacy of feeling that though he might have added £2000 per annum to his income had he allowed his wife, who

had a lovely voice, to sing in public, he would never consent to it. Again, though his was a gambling age, he never touched a card or a dice-box.

His political achievements were ever on the side of justice, liberty, and humanity. He opposed the war with America; he deprecated the coalition between Fox and North; he advocated the abolition of slavery; he denounced the tyranny of Warren Hastings; he condemned the trade restrictions on Ireland; he fought for Catholic emancipation; he did his best to save the French Royal Family; and what is more remarkable, he also pleaded for "an eight hours' day."

Of his ever memorable speech against Warren Hastings, it is impossible to refrain from recalling what some of the greatest of his compeers said of it. Mr. Burke declared it to be "the most astonishing effort of eloquence, argument, and wit united, of which there is any record or tradition." Mr. Fox said "all that he had ever read when compared with it dwindled into nothing and vanished like a vapour before the sun." Mr. Pitt acknowledged that "it surpassed all eloquence of ancient and modern times, and possessed everything that genius or art could furnish to agitate and control the human mind." While Sheridan was actually speaking, Burke remarked to Fox, "That is the true style—something between poetry and prose, and better than either."

It is worth while here recalling the exalted praise that Byron bestowed on the same talented man:

Whatever Sheridan has chosen to do has been the best of its kind. He has written the best comedy "The School for Scandal"; the best opera "The Duenna," (in my mind far before "The Beggar's Opera"); the best farce "The Critic"; the best address "The Monologue on Garrick"; and, to crown all, delivered the best oration ever conceived or heard in this country.

Miss Linley, who became the wife of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, was almost as interesting and fascinating as her husband. Lord Dufferin cites, with an affectionate ancestral reverence, some of the tokens of loving homage bestowed on her by contemporaries of repute. "The most modest, pleasing, and delicate flower I have seen for a long time"; "Quite celestial"; "A voice as of the cherub choir"; "The connecting link between a woman and an angel"—such were some of the tributes of admiration lavished on this charming lady by Wilkes, Dr. Parr, Rogers, Garrick, and other celebrities. She was the daughter of a musician at Bath, but in spite of her origin her transfer, on her marriage, to the first society of London, never turned her head, and her simple and devoted attachment to her husband endured in all its freshness to the last. Her lineaments have been immortalised by Romney, Gainsborough, and Sir Joshua Reynolds; and Macaulay says of her, "There too was she, the beautiful mother of a beautiful race; the Saint Cecilia, whose delicate features, lighted up by love and music, art has rescued from a common decay."

The next Mrs. Sheridan became the mother of Helen, Lady Dufferin (Countess of Gifford). She was a Miss Callander, and of her Frances Kemble remarked that she was a perfect mother of the Graces, more beautiful than anybody but her own daughters—Helen, Lady Dufferin (already mentioned); the Duchess of Somerset, who, when Lady Seymour, was chosen to represent the Queen of Beauty at the famous Eglinton Tournament; and Mrs. Norton, whose husband was Lord Grantley, and whose son eventually succeeded to the title and estates in 1875.

The appearance of these three lovely women is so charmingly described by Lord Dufferin that it were a pity to either omit or abbreviate his language.

The beauty of each of the sisters was of a different type, but they were all equally tall and stately. The Duchess of Somerset had large deep blue or violet eyes, black hair, black eyebrows and eyelashes, perfect features, and a complexion of lilies and roses—a kind of colouring seldom seen out of Ireland. Mrs. Norton, on the contrary, was a brunette with dark burning eyes like her grandfather's, a pure Greek profile and a clear olive complexion. The brothers were all over six feet. My mother, though her features were less regular than those of her sisters, was equally lovely and attractive. Her figure was divine—the perfection of grace and symmetry, her head being beautifully set upon her shoulders. Her hands and feet were very small, many sculptors having asked to model the former. She had a pure sweet voice; sang delightfully, and herself composed many of the tunes to which both her published and unpublished songs were

set. Before either of them were twenty-one, she and Mrs. Norton were paid £100 for a collection of songs they contributed between them.

Helen was brought out at the early age of barely seventeen, and the same season she met Price Blackwood, then a Commander in the Navy, soon after his return from the China Seas. A brief courtship ensued, the happy pair were married at St. George's Church, Hanover Square, on July 4th, 1825, and the same day they started for Italy. They appear to have first visited Siena, the height of which above the sea (1330 feet) affords a more refreshing air than the heat of the valley of the Arno, whither they subsequently removed. Those familiar with the quiet beauty of this old-world Tuscan city, can form some idea of the fascination that Siena, with its majestic *palazzi*, its curiously curved and narrow old streets, and its treasures of mediæval art, must have exercised on the poetic mind of so young, untravelled, and impressionable a girl. The Blackwoods occupied the upper storey of the Palazzo of the Gigli, an old Sienese family, one of whom married Mr. J. P. Maquay, of the well-known Florentine bank of Maquay, Pakenham & Smyth, and was the mother of several sons who have achieved popularity and distinction in the British Army and Navy, and other walks of life. One of them, my old friend, William Maquay, a banker, still resides in Florence, and he and his wife are among the most deservedly popular and esteemed of the English Colony.

Photo by] [*M. Hautmann, Florence.*

CASTLE OF BARBERINO DI MUGELLO, TUSCANY.

[*To face p.* 12.

During Lord Dufferin's sojourn in Florence, a few years ago, an interesting reminiscence of those early days was brought home to him by a lady who remarked :

"Yes, Lord Dufferin, for many years I have wanted to know you ; indeed ever since when at a play at Lord Normanby's, I was sitting behind a lovely young English lady, whose beauty had quite fascinated me, and whom I took for a girl, until I heard her consulting with a friend as to whether her baby's ribbons should be pink or cherry-coloured. And you were the baby !"

The "baby" was born on June 21st, 1826, at No. 1916 Via Maggio, the street leading from the Ponte S. Trinita past the Pitti Palace to the Porta Romana. Mrs. Blackwood's accouchement was of a severe and dangerous character ; and at one moment it appears to have been a question of life and death, but happily both mother and child were spared. On her convalescence, Captain Blackwood had her removed to an old castle in the Apennines called Barberino[1] di Mugello, belonging to the Riccardi family. It is described as "a romantic little place with grey towers and battlements, crowning an isolated eminence which

[1] Barberino is only seventeen miles due north of Florence, but the way thither is very roundabout, and, according to Lord Dufferin, about forty miles long. The villa where the Dufferins resided is called "Villa di Castello." It once belonged to Leopoldo Cattani Cavalcanti, and then to Count Mannelli-Riccardi, who recently sold it to Count da Barberino. Lord Dufferin must have returned thither with his mother about 1840. In the course of his life he revisited the villa twice, and told the *fattore*, or steward, that he had stayed there when a boy.

rises in the middle of a smiling valley formed by the adjoining hills. A river winds round its foot, and a little feudal town nestles not far off in one of its bends, the whole place being rich with gardens, vines, fig-trees and mulberry leaves."

Two years were spent amid these delightful surroundings, and then the Blackwoods came home and settled in a cottage at Thames Ditton, so as to be near Mrs. Sheridan, who had apartments in Hampton Court Palace. Here Lord Dufferin says he can remember (1) his mother "coming of age"—a unique reminiscence, indeed, to which few sons could lay claim—and (2) nearly poisoning himself with eating laburnum seeds on that same memorable occasion. Among the brilliant circle of celebrities with whom the Sheridan family were brought into contact was Mr. Disraeli, *fils*, at whom it appears, it was at that time rather the mode to laugh. Lord Dufferin tells the following characteristic story of the future Premier:

The elder Mr. Disraeli being as yet more celebrated than his son, my mother had expressed a desire to see him. But the introduction could not be managed, inasmuch as at the particular moment Mr. Disraeli had quarrelled with his father. One fine morning, however, he arrived with his father in his right hand, so to speak, in Mrs. Norton's drawing-room at Storey's Gate. Setting him down on a chair and looking at him as if he were some object of *vertu* of which he wanted to dispose, Mr. Disraeli turned round to my mother and said in his somewhat sententious manner, "Mrs. Blackwood, I have brought you my father. I have become reconciled

to my father on two conditions: the first was that he should come and see *you*; the second, that he should pay my debts.

The peaceful life at Ditton was, however, suddenly broken by the appointment of Commander Blackwood to the *Imogene*, a 28-gun frigate. He started in 1831 from Portsmouth for a tour which took him in succession to Rio, the Cape of Good Hope, Calcutta, Australia, and New Zealand. On his recovery from a bad attack of fever he left for the China Seas, where together with the *Andromache* under Captain Chads, he attacked the Chinese Bogue Forts and forced the passage of the Bocca Tigris. He was absent from England four years altogether on this trip.

It was in 1839 that Price, the Marquess's father, succeeded to the title. Unfortunately just about the same time Helen, Lady Dufferin, fell ill and had to proceed to Italy to recuperate. The son, the future Marquess, was a boy at Eton at the time, and his father came down to see him on June 25th, 1841, and was at once called upon to become the "sitter" in the eight-oar, with the attaching "footing" of a hamper of champagne. He left the next day, having arranged that his boy should join him in Ireland in July. To this meeting the lad was looking forward with unspeakable pleasure. But he recorded certain inexplicable misgivings in the following passage:

On the afternoon before the appointed day, I remember standing on the little bridge over-hanging the stream

which forms the boundary of the College precinct, watching the willows waving in the wind, and saying to a friend, "It is very odd, I have every reason to be happy: to-night we have the boats, and to-morrow the holidays begin, and I am going on to my father in Ireland and yet I feel quite wretched!" The next morning as I was packing my clothes, my tutor, Mr. Cookesley sent for me. He looked very grave and said, "I have got bad news for you; your father is very ill; what would you like to do?" I said I would like to go to him. "No, my poor boy, your father is dead."

The unfortunate peer appears to have been poisoned by an accidental overdose of morphia in some pills compounded in a hurry by a Liverpool chemist. He was travelling by the steamer to Belfast, and on arrival thither on July 21st, 1841, it was discovered he had died suddenly in the night.

This terrible blow, as might be surmised, quite prostrated Helen, Lady Dufferin, and brought on a serious illness. Her boy soon joined her at Naples. After a six months' sojourn in those sunny latitudes, the lad, Lord Dufferin, was compelled to return to his schooling, though his mother was scarcely in a fit state to be left. The day before he started, he attended, in company with his aunt, Lady Seymour, a dance at the Accademia, where a very pretty young lady was persuaded to take pity on, and dance with, the Eton boy, despite his jacket and his wide open collar. The latter was sensibly impressed by his partner's beauty, and with a gallantry which would have done honour to riper years, expressed his profound regret that

instead of returning to his studies at Eton, he could not stay to rescue the damsel from her doom of celibacy. Twenty years after Lord Dufferin says he happened to be again in Naples, and met the late Duke of Sant' Arpino on the Chiaja. The Duke had been a playfellow of his in the earlier days, and the two began to talk about old acquaintances. During the conversation a great military funeral rolled past. Referring to his pretty partner of the Accademia ball, Lord Dufferin asked whether she had entered a convent after all, or married. At that very moment the catafalque with the body of the dead man, an ex-Governor of Sicily, arrayed in his uniform with all his orders, came into sight, close to the spot where the two friends were conversing. "Yes," replied the Duke, "she married." "Whom?" inquired his companion. "That man!" rejoined the other, pointing to the bier.

Lord Dufferin's father had desired in his will that the son should reside a good deal in Ireland, and Lady Dufferin taking the same view, the lad's summer holidays were spent at Clandeboye, and after leaving Eton, the greater part of the following years at the same lovely resort.

Clandeboye is situated on the southern shore of Belfast Lough, a few miles from the sea, on that part of Ulster which juts out towards the shore of Galloway on the Scottish side, about forty miles distant. The estate of the Dufferins lies in a bright undulating country diversified by silvery loughs and purple hills, the smiling landscape

backed by the Mourne Mountains on the one side, and by broken and picturesque expanses of the North Channel on the other. The nearest town is Bangor ; but probably the most interesting way of approaching the house is by a long but excellently made private road leading from the little station of Helen's Bay. The road was, I believe, constructed as a "relief work" at the time of the Irish famine. The mansion, which is reached after two or three miles saunter through the park, is a solid and eminently comfortable edifice, the earliest part dating, it is said, from James II.'s time. The present front was formerly a subordinate entry, so the absence of any portico rather detracts from the exterior effect. But the moment you set foot in the hall, its fine proportions and the mass of varied and interesting objects collected and presented from every quarter of the globe, not only arrest your attention, but tell you are in the house of some one possessed of catholic tastes and opportunities.

The *genius loci* of this charming home must from the first have impressed itself on young Dufferin's affections. No doubt it was a sacrifice for a young lady of such exceptional accomplishments as his mother to settle down for years in the seclusion of an Irish country house. But her devotion to her son's upbringing during the critical years preceding his Oxford education were invaluable to him, and fully repaid in his love and veneration for his beloved parent.

Photo by] [*J. Mack, Coleraine.*

CLANDEBOYE.

[*To face p.* 18

At Christ Church, Oxford,[1] his classical tastes were developed, and though he did not shine in the schools, he imbibed sufficient of the *genius loci* to retain throughout his life culture and fondness for scholarship; witness the punctiliousness with which, when he was addressed in Latin and Greek, he made a point of replying in the same language. It is curious that he did not at first take readily to books. For the first twenty years he confessed that he had no fondness for poetry, and though his mother read out loud to him Virgil, Dryden, Pope, Byron, and other classics, he found these but ill adapted to his liking.

At the same time he seems to have been drawn instinctively to what was to be the work of his life—the appreciation and study of important public questions. He was only twenty years of age when, in company with the Hon. G. F. Boyle (afterwards Earl of Glasgow), a college friend, he determined to visit Ireland and see for himself something of the effects of the famine which was then devastating wide tracts, and of which but vague and unsatisfactory information had drifted over to England. It was, as Lord Dufferin remarked in his pamphlet, a fearfully interesting period, for

[1] Lord Dufferin later on recalled a story of Gaisford, who was then Dean. The great scholar had on one occasion passed a sumptuary law against ices at Christ Church wine parties. The justice of this decree was not quite apparent to the undergraduate mind, and an inscription appeared on the door of the Deanery:—

TAKE NOT ICE.
OUR DEAN
IS NOT AN ICE DEAN.

famine, typhus fever, and dysentery were terribly rife. Young as he was, Dufferin looked upon this self-imposed trip as the duty of an Irish landlord and legislator.

They were advised to visit Skibbereen in the extreme south, and thither bent their steps. Skibbereen is the famous place from whose remote aerie the editor of the local paper kept his "eagle eye" on the devious paths of European statesmanship. The scenes there encountered were, however, calculated on the present occasion to arouse far different thoughts. Although the two young men spent only twenty-four hours in the place, the "Narrative of a journey from Oxford to Skibbereen" presents a truly harrowing picture of the sickness, mortality and misery that prevailed. The normal population was twenty thousand, and this, through an enormous death-rate, accompanied by terrible scenes and recitals which can be better imagined than described, had been reduced to appalling insignificance.

In these days of vastly improved communications and ubiquitous and enterprising newspapers, similar distress, we may assume, would be a practical impossibility. Special correspondents would visit the spot and make vigilant researches, and public opinion would insist on Government making adequate provision for relief. But in those days it was private charity that had to step into the breach. Lord Dufferin's descriptive pamphlet was published in Oxford, quickly ran

into a second edition, an "Association" was formed and a brisk subscription to the Relief Fund was the result. The young lord himself also contributed £1000 under the name of "An Irish landlord from Skibbereen"—the identity of the donor being only revealed by accident, many years afterwards.

The first public speech of importance by Lord Dufferin, that I find recorded, is one delivered at a dinner given to his agent, Mr. John H. Howe, on December 30th, 1847, at Newtownards. For a young man only just come of age, it was no small effort of common sense and eloquence. The toast to which he had to reply was "Lord Dufferin and the improving landlords of Ireland," and the orator, in his reply, led off with the remark that an Irish landlord was unlike any other landlord under the sun.

> He lives in a peculiar atmosphere of his own; the daily conditions of his life, and the occasional conditions of his death, are totally dissimilar to those of other men. He is a complete genius of himself—an erratic body in the social system (laughter). He may be described as an individual who does not get rent—as a well-dressed gentleman who may be shot with impunity, the legitimate target of the immediate neighbourhood—a superficial index by which to mark the geographical direction of the under current of assassination—a cause of bewilderment to Coroners and of vague verdicts to distracted juries—a subject for newspaper paragraphs, and a startling text for leading articles.

But these amenities were not going to drive

away Lord Dufferin from his post. Like Sir Richard O'Donel, however much threatened, he was determined to live amongst them, and was not afraid to die amongst them. By despising Molly Maguire's death warrant, and "all the infamous machinery of intimidation" the alienated affection of the peasantry could be won back; for the greatest object for all landlords, whether they lived in the north or south, was to attain the confidence of their tenantry. Lord Dufferin paid some friendly compliments to his agent.

> Next to his wife, the agent is the most important choice a landlord has to make. . . . If a landlord is, as somebody has said, the father of his tenants, an agent is certainly their nurse. I have great confidence in the nursing properties of your worthy guest, and I have no hesitation in saying—and I do not care who contradicts me—that I think it would be almost a pity to shoot that gentleman (great laughter).

The ensuing peroration, though short, was peculiarly happy and, to my mind, marked, even at that early age, the gifts of one who although only recently out of his teens, was certainly a born orator.

CHAPTER II

LORD-IN-WAITING TO H.M. THE QUEEN—LIFE IN LONDON AND CLANDEBOYE—VIEWS ON IRELAND—FIGHTING AT BOMARSUND —TRIP TO ICELAND

PUBLIC service was now disclosing its fascinations to one who was so soon to be marked out for distinction in that line. In 1849, Lord Dufferin was offered the easy but gratifying post of Lord-in-waiting to the Queen, which he held till 1852. During this introduction to Court life he made a wide circle of friends and acquaintances, amongst others, many of the chief literary men of the day, including Dickens, Thackeray, Carlyle, Charles Buller, Macaulay, Kingsley, Proctor and others, who were naturally attracted by so genial and talented a personality. It was in 1850 that he was created a peer of the United Kingdom, and took his seat in the House of Lords. Two years later I catch a glimpse of him from a description vouchsafed by the veteran and accomplished musician, Mr. Wilhelm Ganz, whom Dufferin invited to stay at Clandeboye for six weeks in 1852. Among other guests at the time were Mrs. Earle, Sir D. Brewster, Mr. (afterwards

Lord) Hardinge, and Viscount Gifford. Mr. Ganz tells me that his host was melancholy and pensive at that time, and that he liked nothing better than for his musical friend to play to him during hours of study or writing. Chopin was Dufferin's favourite composer, and there was, no doubt, much in the strange romance and pathos of the Polish musician's nocturnes and preludes that may have chimed in with the young peer's mood.

In 1853, on April 18th, the burning topic of the Maynooth Grant cropped up in the House of Lords, on a motion brought forward by the Earl of Winchilsea, in which he asked for a Select Committee to examine the results and working of the arrangement made some eight years previously, when a Government subvention of £30,000 per annum was fixed for the College. The Prime Minister, the Earl of Aberdeen, met this motion with an amendment in favour of a Commission of Inquiry. There was naturally no vital difference between the two media of investigation, but it was understood that the former proposal was adverse, and the latter favourable, to the continuance of the grant. Lord Dufferin, in a liberal and well-informed speech, supported the amendment, which was eventually carried.

Two important Bills came up for debate in the following year, viz.—the Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Bill, and the Leasing Powers (Ireland) Bill. On February 28th, 1854, both of these were brought forward for second reading, and Lord

Dufferin assented thereto on the condition they were referred to a Select Committee. After three or four years spent amid the endless embarrassments incidental to Irish land management, he had arrived at the deliberate conclusion that "the relationship of landlord and tenant in Ireland were almost of a barbarous character." A good deal of his speech turned upon the Ulster custom of tenant right, on which he was naturally an authority, and in subsequent years gave valuable evidence before a Parliamentary Committee. On the present occasion he, with his college experiences still fresh in his recollection, compared it to the payment of "thirds" made by a freshman to an outgoing undergraduate, in respect of the furniture of the rooms vacated by the latter, and handed over to the former.

He did not think, however, that the Bills under consideration made adequate provision for compensation for past improvements by tenants, and to remedy this had himself laid on the table a Bill, the effect of which was to be purely retrospective, and designed specially to deal with cases of this sort. The Bill was then read a first time and ordered to be printed.

In 1854 Lord Dufferin became possessed of an eighty-ton schooner yacht, *Foam*, and of a consequent (or it might have been of a precedent) desire to see something of the pending fighting between the Allies and Russia. The Baltic was nearer than the Crimea, so in the summer of that

year the *Foam*, with Lord Arthur Russell and its owner on board, set sail for Bomarsund, where some sport was expected.[1]

It was, to my thinking, a very pleasing and plucky fancy of Lord Dufferin, a mere intelligent civilian, to be so anxious to share, in a lay capacity, in the hostilities afoot. In those days it was difficult to realise such an enterprise, when actual participation in action was more or less the monopoly of the regulars, even volunteers, and still more newspaper correspondents, being in a somewhat anomalous position, while the possession of a yacht was and is a still rarer privilege. However, Lord Dufferin was most genially and encouragingly received by the Admiral of the fleet. He made very light of the prospective danger, as most Englishmen would have done in like circumstances. Curiously enough, he and Captain Cowell (afterwards Sir John Cowell, Master of her Majesty's Household), had only a short time before narrowly escaped death, while promenading the deck of H.M.S. *Wellington* at Portsmouth, just after the Queen's review of her fleet. A heavy block had fallen close to the two, and within a few inches missed bringing the contemplated trip to the Baltic to a premature and inglorious end.

On reaching the Aland Islands, Lord Dufferin repaired to the Admiral to pay his respects. The chief called down from the bridge to the young peer, "Would you like to see a shot fired over your

[1] See *Youth's Companion* (Boston Mass.), November 17th, 1898.

head?" Dufferin replied he would be delighted. Whereupon he was told off to join H.M.S. *Penelope*, and Mr. Graham, a midshipman and Lord Dufferin's cousin, was ordered to accompany him. The *Penelope* got within range of one of the Russian forts, but most unfortunately ran on to a sunken rock and stuck there, thus becoming an excellent mark for the Russian guns, which, after two or three ineffectual shots, got the range to a nicety. One shot came through the paddle-box, and Lord Dufferin was curious to observe whether Peter Simple's theory was true and trustworthy, that it was an impossibility, on the doctrine of chances, for another round shot to hit the same spot. He did not, however, insert his head into the hole, as Peter's friend did, and this was fortunate, as another projectile soon flew through the very same aperture, converting the two holes into one big one! The paddle-box was soon smashed, and so was the theory.

During the fight Dufferin found himself next to a very small midshipman, looking rather forlorn and, like his civilian neighbour, out of a job, so he touched his cap and accosted the youngster, remarking that it was a fine day. The middie cordially agreed that it was, and Dufferin, encouraged at this urbanity, ventured to ask him how long he had been at sea? "It is only six weeks ago" responded the middie, with a tremor in his voice, "that I left my mamma, but I ain't going to cry on her Majesty's quarter-deck," a speech, which the

other remarks is quite as worth reproducing as some made by more famous heroes. Soon afterwards a seaman was killed close by, and the poor little chap fainted and had to be carried below.

On the following day Lord Dufferin and his friend Russell landed to see something of the attack of the English and French batteries on the Russian detached fort. They very nearly got caught between the opposing fires, just after a momentary suspension of hostilities, but eventually the Russians surrendered, and the Allies made a triumphal entry into the main fort.

Lord Dufferin had intended paying a visit in his yacht to the Crimea (a project which may or may not have suggested the similar incident in F. Robertson's comedy of "Ours"), but he was unfortunately prevented from carrying out his purpose by an attack of typhoid fever.

In 1855, while again as Lord-in-waiting, he was attached to Lord John Russell's Mission to Vienna, which formed the prelude to the end of the Crimean War. As is well known, the advantages, if any, derived by Great Britain from that war were out of all proportion to the sacrifices made by her; and both Lord John's mission, and the subsequent Congress of Paris elicited far from favourable comment on the policy of the Liberals then in power.

Soon after his return to England, Lord Dufferin proceeded to carry into effect a projected tour to Iceland and the Arctic Sea. This he has most

amusingly described in his "Letters from High Latitudes" (*Murray*)—a work which has delighted a host of readers, and run through five editions, besides being translated into French and Dutch. On this trip he was accompanied by Mr. Fitzgerald, surgeon, an Icelandic law student from Copenhagen, and a valet, named Wilson, a person of profoundly melancholy temperament, and a most original character, as well as a master and crew of a dozen. The master, on his joining the yacht looked like a cross between a German student and a flashy "commercial." He sported a green jacket, silk tartan waistcoat, with a huge gold chain meandering over its expanse. It turned out, however, that he was a plucky seaman, and the watch and splendid chain were testimonials awarded to him in respect of a special act of maritime daring.

During the stormy days that ensued before Iceland was reached, Lord Dufferin was laid up with a long-expected bout of illness, but some solace was derived from a psychic study of the idiosyncrasies of his melancholy valet.

> His countenance corresponded with the prevailing character of his thoughts, always hopelessly chapfallen; his voice as of the tomb. He brushes my clothes, lays the cloth, opens the champagne with the air of one advancing to his execution. I have never seen him smile but once, when he came to report to me that a sea had nearly swept his colleague, the steward, overboard.

This worthy was overheard conversing with the doctor, who was laid up with *mal de mer*.

Fitzgerald.—"Well, Wilson, I suppose this kind of thing does not last long?"

The voice as of the tomb.—"I don't know, sir."

Fitz.—"But you must have often seen passengers sick?"

The voice.—"Often, sir; *very* sick."

Fitz.—"Well, and on an average, how soon did they recover?"

The voice.—"Some of them didn't recover, sir."

Fitz.—"Well, but those that did?"

The voice.—"I know'd a Clergyman and his wife as were ill all the voyage, five months, sir."

Fitz.—(Quite silent).

The voice, now become sepulchral.—"They sometimes dies, sir?"

Fitz.—"Ugh!"

Before the end of the voyage, however, this Job's comforter himself fell ill, and the doctor amply revenged himself by prescribing for him.

Thanks to the popularity of Sigurdr, his interpreter and companion, Lord Dufferin found himself most hospitably received by the gentry of the place. Many of the inhabitants spoke English, and one or two French; but in default of either one's only chance was Latin. At first Lord Dufferin found great difficulty in hustling up anything sufficiently conversational, more especially as it was necessary to broaden out the vowels in Italian fashion; but a little practice soon made him more fluent.

As to religion, the Icelanders are Lutheran, and

REYKJAVIK, ICELAND.

[*To face p.* 30.

a clergyman in a black gown, with a ruff round his neck, such as our bishops are painted in about the time of James I., preached the sermon, when Lord Dufferin attended service in the Cathedral, the only stone building in Reykjavik. Though still retaining in their ceremonies a few vestiges of the old religion ; though altars, candles, pictures, and crucifixes yet remain in many of their churches, the Icelanders are staunch Protestants, and by all accounts the most devout, innocent, pure-hearted people in the world. "Crime, theft, debauchery, cruelty, are unknown among them ; they have neither prison, gallows, nor police, and in the secluded valleys there is something of a patriarchal simplicity, that reminds one of the old world princes of whom it has been said, that they were 'upright and perfect, eschewing evil, and in their hearts no guile.'"[1]

It would be an injustice to the inimitable "Letters from High Latitudes" to attempt to compress its incidents, witticisms, and its picturesqueness in a brief chapter : those who have never perused its bright pages ought certainly to repair their omission. But Lord Dufferin's great speech in Latin, in responding to the toast of his health at the

[1] These are Lord Dufferin's words, and recent statistics record the further interesting fact that education is so universal that a child ten years old unable to read is not to be found in the whole island, while there are many peasants who, besides being well versed in Icelandic literature, read foreign languages fluently. It is incumbent on the clergy to see that all children are taught to read and write and cypher.

dinner at Government House, is a monumental effort of oratory, which he himself protested should not be suffered to perish, so, although Latin is, alas! getting more and more out of favour in these days, I cannot miss this opportunity of doing honour once again to its dignified simplicity and rounded eloquence. I append the orator's own notes, not the least brilliant feature of this classical gem.

"Viri illustres, insolitus ut sum ad publicum loquendum, ego propero respondere ad complimentum quod recte reverendus prelaticus (the Bishop of the Island) mihi fecit, in proponendo meam salutem, et supplico vos credere quod multum gratificatus et flattificatus sum honore tam distincto.

"Bibere, viri illustres, in omnibus res est quæ terris 'domum venit ad hominum negotia et pectora:[1] (1) requirit haustum longum, haustum fortem, et haustum omnes simul:' (2) ut canit poeta, 'unum tactum Naturæ totum orbem facit consanguineum,' (3) et hominis natura est—bibere (4).

"Viri illustres, alterum est sentimentum æqualiter universale: terra communis super quam septentrionales et meridionales eâdem enthusiasmâ convenire possunt: est necesse quod id nominarem? Ad pulchrum sexum devotio!'

"Amor regit palatium, castra, lucum: (5) Dubito sub quo capite vestrum jucundam civitatem numerare debeam.

[1] As the happiness of these quotations seemed to produce a very pleasing effect on my auditors, I subjoin a translation of them for the benefit of the unlearned:—

1. "Comes home to men's business and bosoms." *Paterfamilias in "The Times."*

2. "A long pull, a strong pull, and a pull altogether."—*Nelson at the Nile.*

3. "One touch of nature makes the whole world kin."—*Jeremy Bentham.*

4. Apothegm by the late Lord Mountcoffeehouse.

5. "Love rules the court, the camp, the grove."—*Venerable Bede.*

Palatium? non regem! castra? non milites! lucum? non ullam arborem habetis! Tamen Cupido vos dominat haud aliter quam alios—et virginum Islandicarum pulchritudo per omnes regiones cognita est.

"Bibamus salutem earum, et confusionem ad omnes bacularios: speramus quod eæ caræ et benedictæ creaturæ inveniant tot maritos quot velint,—quod geminos quotannis habeant et quod earum filiæ, maternum exemplum sequentes, gentem Islandicam perpetuent in sæcula sæculorum."

After these festivities a start was made for the interior and Thingvalla. The crevasse-encircled site of the ancient Thing, or Icelandic Parliament, and the geysers were duly explored. While encamped by the latter Lord Dufferin's party were surprised by the sudden advent of Prince Louis Napoleon and a suite of French officers, who had disembarked at Reykjavik two days after the English party had left.

Lord Dufferin says that, though he never had had the pleasure of seeing Louis Napoleon before, he would have known him among a thousand from his remarkable likeness to his uncle, the first Emperor. "A stronger resemblance, I conceive, could scarcely exist between two persons. The same delicate, sharply-cut features, thin, refined mouth, and firm, determined jaw. The Prince's frame, however, is built altogether on a larger scale, and his eyes, instead of being of a cold, piercing blue, are soft and brown with quite a different expression."

It is strange how differently likenesses strike people. After seeing a good many portraits of

both uncle and nephew, I should have imagined that, in point of stature and build, the two were not so dissimilar, but that in face there was not the least resemblance. However, Lord Dufferin actually saw and conversed with the third Napoleon, so his testimony must be upheld.

On reaching Reykjavik the Emperor's yacht, the *Reine Hortense*, a magnificent screw corvette of eleven hundred tons, was descried in harbour. Lord Dufferin had parted from her three years previously in the Baltic, after she had towed him for eighty miles on the way from Bomarsund to Stockholm. Various other vessels made the usually deserted port look quite lively. Visits were exchanged between the Prince and Lord Dufferin, and after discussion of their mutual plans, the latter consented to abandon his intention of seeing the rest of Iceland, and to accept the offer of H.I.H. to tow the *Foam* to Hammerfest, past Jan Mayen, an interesting island which Lord Dufferin was most anxious to see.

Before leaving, a capital dinner was given by the Prince on board the *Reine Hortense*, followed by a ball on the French frigate, the *Artemise*, to which all the rank, fashion, and beauty of Reykjavik were invited. At the former of these two functions Lord Dufferin renewed acquaintance with some of his old Baltic friends, and was presented to the Duc d' Abrantes, Marshal Junot's son. On sitting down to table, he found himself between the Prince and M de Saule, member of the French Institute, a scientific but remarkably pleasant com-

ICELANDIC GIRL.

[*To face p.* 34.

panion. There was a good deal of speculation as to the costume which the Icelandic ladies would adopt at the ball, Lord Dufferin having evidently been perturbed by a disquieting and horrid statement he had lighted upon in some book of travel, that it was the practice of the women from early childhood to flatten down their bosoms as much as possible. Happily this turned out to be wholly unfounded, for the maligned ladies proved to be as buxom in form as the rosiest English girl.

The voyage towards Hammerfest was marked by a notable incident—the arrival of "LE PÈRE ARCTIQUE," who came on board the corvette as soon as the latter crossed the southern boundary of his dominions. This was a venerable white-bearded, spectacled personage, clad in bearskin, with a cocked hat over his left ear, and accompanied by a bevy of hideous monsters, devils and monkeys who danced the "cancan" with such *verve* and energy that a restorative in the shape of grog, ladled from a huge cauldron, had to be liberally administered.

The solitary island of Jan Mayen, lying far away to the north and almost equidistant from Iceland and Greenland, was Lord Dufferin's first objective point, and here the *Foam* succeeded in penetrating unaided, having bidden farewell to the *Reine Hortense* some days previously. It was a risky cruise, for, though the height of summer, most people know how easy it is for a sailing vessel to be beset by ice in these northern regions. However, the plucky little *Foam* succeeded in

doing better still, for she got as far north as Spitzbergen. The elements were, however, unpropitious, and for some time the issue was in doubt. And the genial Wilson's matutinal report was not very encouraging to the noble owner.

With the air of a man announcing the stroke of doomsday, he used to say or rather *toll*:

"Seven o'clock, my lord!"

"Very well; how's the wind?"

"Dead ahead, my lord—*dead*."

"How many points is she off her course?"

"Four points, my lord—full four points."

(Four points being as much as she could be.)

"Is it pretty clear,—eh, Wilson?"

"Can't see your hand, my lord!"

"Much ice in sight?"

"Ice all round, my lord—ice all ro-ound!"

And so exit, sighing deeply over the trousers.

After visiting Spitzbergen, the *Foam* returned to Norway, this time to Throndhjem, the ancient capital of the sea-kings of Norway. From thence the voyagers' steps were homeward bound *via* Bergen and Copenhagen. Eventually the little schooner reached Portsmouth after six thousand miles pleasing and eventful cruise.

This trip was, however, surpassed in 1858 and 1859 by a more extended trip in the *Erminia*, 220 tons, in which Lord Dufferin and his mother carried out a most interesting cruise in the Mediterranean, in the course of which they visited Egypt, the coast of Asia Minor, Constantinople and Athens.

CHAPTER III

MISSION TO SYRIA, 1860-61 — DRUSES AND MARONITES—MASSACRES AT DAMASCUS—INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION—MEETINGS AND INQUIRIES—QUESTION OF FOREIGN OCCUPATION—LORD DUFFERIN'S MEMORANDUM—FINAL REPORT—LATER EVIDENCE OF RESULTS

IN 1860 Lord Dufferin was entrusted by Lord Palmerston with a mission to Syria, which may be described as his first political appointment and introduction to serious administrative, or perhaps one might say, diplomatic work. The cause of the mission was a shocking massacre of Christians at Damascus and the consequent intervention of the Powers. This fearful event grew out of the racial feuds of the Druses and Maronites, who had displayed at times great religious intolerance, one towards another, ever since the authority of the Porte replaced that of Ibrahim Pasha in 1841.

The first-named people, whose numbers are variously estimated at from seventy thousand to ninety thousand, are of rather mysterious origin. They inhabit the mountainous region of the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, forming the exclusive population of some thirty groups of villages, and sharing with the Christians the occupation of a

large number of other villages. The Druses are remarkable for the pertinacity and success with which they have maintained their independence against the pressure of the Turks. They speak Arabic correctly enough, but the main body of the Druses are judged to be not of Semitic origin. Mr. (afterwards Sir) Cyril Graham, whose labours amongst them entitled him to be considered an authority, regarded them as of Indo-Teutonic descent. They are often fair-haired and of light complexion, strong and well-made, and often as tall as northern Europeans. There are traditions that vaguely connect the Druses with China, and the link is not so improbable from a geographical (not ethnological) point of view, when we call to mind the occurrence of similar Aryan types on the south-eastern slopes of the Pamirs, and some other secluded valleys of Central Asia.

The Maronites are a far more numerous people, being estimated at from two hundred and fifty thousand to something like double that number. They are Christians, and their religious tenets undoubtedly helped to bring them into collision with their Druse neighbours. Conflicts and massacres took place in 1845, but a settlement of a more or less perfunctory character was then effected, and until 1860 the peace appears to have been kept, after a fashion.

In July, 1860, news reached England of a terrible massacre of Christians at Damascus. The American Consul had been wounded and the Dutch Consul

Photo by] [*Sarrafian Bros., Beirut.*

AKKAL, OR INITIATED DRUSE.

[*To face p.* 38.

killed;[1] no fewer than five thousand five hundred Christians had been assassinated, not including those killed in actual conflict, while twenty thousand refugees, including widows and children of the murdered, were said to be wandering in a state of famine through the country. A widespread feeling of horror and indignation was aroused throughout Europe.

As a matter of fact, though, these massacres had been preceded by others in the Lebanon, which, though on a somewhat smaller scale of horror, were in all conscience appalling enough. As already mentioned, the enmity between the Druses and the Maronites dated from 1841, when the baleful authority of the Porte was established in these parts. Owing to the troubles which then ensued, a special form of government was enacted by Turkey, in deference to the representations of the Powers, with the object of providing for a more equitable government of the Maronites. This arrangement, though it never worked well, appears to have endured without any very serious outbreak. The Druses however, alleged that the Maronites being considerably in the majority were particularly contemplating the uprooting of the Druse community in the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, and the establishment of their own independence.

In May, 1860, there was a marked increase of agitation and insecurity, and the attitude of the Druses, who were the stronger and more deter-

[1] "Accounts and Papers—Syria," February—August 1861, Vol. LXVIII.

mined of the two races, became defiant. They began to chant their war-songs, and at last civil war broke out between them and the Christians. Towards the close of the month over three hundred Christians were massacred near Sidon, and a still larger number near Zahleh.[1] This was, however, only the prelude to worse, for in the early part of June the whole male population of Hasbeya and Rasheya as well as of the Maronite capital of Deir-el-Kamer were slaughtered. The conduct of Osman Bey, one of the principal chiefs in command at Hasbeya, was characterised by a fiendishness which was almost without parallel. He first induced the Christians to surrender their arms; he then crowded the poor creatures into the court of a *serai*, where he kept them for eight days with scarcely any food, and when unable from physical debility to resist, he opened the gates and allowed the Druses to rush in and massacre them to the number of eight hundred, men, women, and children. The number of males massacred at the three places was estimated by Mr. Graham at 2,300 in all.

It is always a matter of some surprise, in reading of such horrors, how the oppressed nationalities came to allow themselves to be tamely slaughtered. There is something curiously feeble and pusillanimous in many of the subject races of the Ottoman Empire, and the Maronites formed no

[1] See plate. Now one of the most prosperous places in the Mountain

Photo by] [*Sarrafian Bros., Beirut.*

ZAHLEH.

[*To face p.* 40.

exception to this rule, for a few Druses would often defeat a large force of their enemies.

One bright exception to the above record of barbarity deserves mention. The sister of a great Druse chief took on herself to shelter within her house four hundred Christian fugitives, and when their would-be murderers, panting for more blood, demanded of her to give up the dogs of Christians, she replied, "Enter, if you dare, and take them!" Even at such a moment the Druses would not have dared to violate the sanctity of the harem of one of their great Princes, and with muttered curses they retired. The poor refugees, by command of their patroness, were carefully escorted to Moktarah, whence they were despatched to Sidon, and from thence brought off by a British man-of-war and landed at Beyrout.

These events became known in Damascus in the course of a few days, and the sight of fugitives, who flocked to the city for safety and food, to the number of over six thousand, excited and emboldened the Moslems and intensified the terror of the Christians. The impression began to prevail among all sects and classes that the Government itself desired and intended the destruction of the Christians. The latter in their turn were only led to remain in the city owing to the impossibility of escaping elsewhere.

However, by July 9th, as nothing serious had happened, the Christians began to hope that the danger was over, and some Moslems took pains

to reassure them. On that day, however, two young Mohammedans were punished for molesting Christians by being made to sweep the streets, and immediately, as if at a pre-arranged signal, the shopkeepers, with a presentiment of the coming trouble, began to shut their shops, and the mob began to plunder, burn, outrage, and murder the Christians. About fifteen hundred houses were pillaged, and from one and a quarter to one and a half million sterling's worth of property was carried off or destroyed. The number of adult males killed was about three thousand. It was clear that the design of the rioters was to exterminate the adult male population, carry off the women, and compel them to embrace Mohammedanism, bring up the children in the same faith, and utterly destroy the Christian quarter. This project was only partly arrested, after two days' slaughter, by the fact that there were no more Christians within reach of the murderers.

Such were the events which appalled Christendom. In those days it was France who chivalrously took the lead, as the champion of the Christian population of the East. M. Thouvenel, the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, communicated the news to our Ambassador, Lord Cowley, and urged prompt action. He drew special attention to the inaction, if not connivance, of the Turkish authorities. Unfortunately, British policy was then strongly pro-Turkish, and M. Thouvenel, who acted with energy throughout, had a good deal

of difficulty in persuading Lord J. Russell to consent to the landing of an international force. However, the situation was too fearful for much hesitation, and a Convention[1] was drawn up and agreed upon between Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, and Turkey, It was resolved that a body of European troops, whose number might be increased to twelve thousand, should be despatched to Syria. Six thousand of these, being the French contingent, were to be sent at once, and all the Powers were to maintain a naval force off the coast to act as a base for the military operations in the interior. The Porte was to facilitate the furnishing of supplies and the whole of the commissariat. The duration of the occupation was fixed by the Convention at six months, but this was afterwards prolonged by a second Convention to June 5th, 1861.

It was also agreed that an International Commission should be appointed to inquire into these lamentable events, and the British Government selected Lord Dufferin as their representative. Thereon Lord Russell, in his letter to Lord Dufferin of July 30th, informed him that he would obtain his instructions from Sir Henry Bulwer, the British Ambassador at Constantinople. The general aims were thus defined by our Foreign Secretary :

The chief object of the Commission will be to obtain

[1] Dated September 5th, 1860.

security for the future peace of Syria. But internal peace cannot be obtained without a speedy, pure, and impartial administration of justice. Those who suffer wrong and see that wrong committed with impunity take punishment into their own hands or, rather, substitute revenge for due and legal retribution.

You will pay respect to the authorities named by the Sultan, and you will always bear in mind that no territorial acquisition, no exclusive influence, no separate commercial advantage is sought by her Majesty's Government or should be acquired by any of the Great Powers.

In the meantime the Porte had not been idle, for the Sultan had despatched from Constantinople his own Minister of Foreign Affairs, Fuad Pasha, who with a body of troops landed at Beyrout on July 17th. This measure brought about a lull in the outrages, which up till then had in no way ceased in the surrounding districts. The Pasha, with two battalions and six pieces of artillery, left for Damascus, and entered that city on July 29th. He was greatly overcome with emotion at the sight of no fewer than twelve thousand Christian refugees crowded into the narrow confines of the Castle in the most pitiable plight. He, however, displayed considerable energy, and within the next few weeks had made searching inquiry into the affair, and arrested a large number of Moslems. Their trial was, however, of a perfunctory character, and on August 19th fifty-seven of these persons were hanged and one hundred and ten were shot. Contrary to the alarmist and pessimist anticipations which so many of the

Photo by] [*Sarrafian Bros., Beirut*

DRUSE WATCHMAN GUARDING VINEYARDS.

[*To face p.* 44.

pro-Mohammedan party had held out, there was not the slightest attempt at resistance or rescue.

On September 3rd Lord Dufferin arrived at Beyrout. He had called at Constantinople and been presented to the Sultan, and had been obligingly furnished thereon with a steam yacht, placed at his disposal by His Imperial Majesty's son-in-law. After calling on his colleagues and the Turkish authorities, one of his lordship's earlier steps was to enter into communication with a Mr. Robson, an Irish Presbyterian missionary, and a person of sober judgment and great intelligence. He had been a resident of Damascus for eighteen years, spoke Arabic perfectly, and was thus able to throw valuable light, so far as that city was concerned, on the recent events, which, as Lord Dufferin remarked, "had deluged the province with human blood." Mr. Robson's account, collated with that of Mr. Cyril Graham, previously mentioned, was substantially that given above.

Lord Dufferin's arrival was soon followed by that of his colleagues, Messrs. De Weckbecker (Prussia), Beclard (France), De Rehfues (Austria), and Novikof (Russia), and the first meeting of the Commission was held soon after. In the absence of Fuad Pasha, who had been designated as President, and who was detained in Damascus, the chair was taken by M. De Weckbecker. Meetings then followed at brief intervals, and during the ensuing months the whole of the events were reviewed and the situation exhaustively considered. So long

as the inquiry was confined to Damascus, the result was undoubtedly to present the ferocity of the Mohammedans in the worst possible light, with little or nothing of a redeeming character. But on extension of the investigations to the mountainous regions of the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, important facts came to light on the other side. Fuad Pasha had ordered a military occupation of the Lebanon, and had instituted punitive measures against the guilty Druse chiefs—viz., forfeiture of titles and sequestration of property. This was the very least that was due from the perpetrators of the massacres of Hasbeya, Rasbeya, and Deir-el-Khaman. In addition to these, the two chief men responsible for the massacres at Hashbeya and Rasbeya were shot, as well as Ali Bey and Achmet Agha, the two principal Turkish authorities at Damascus.

In the course of the investigations it became clear to Lord Dufferin that it was the Christians who had provoked the Druses into embarking on a war of extermination. The former, agitated by the success of the anti-feudal movement, and stimulated to further effort by the intrigues of their priesthood, had long meditated an onslaught on the Druses, eventually to end in the overthrow of Turkish authority in the Lebanon. The Turks, perceiving what was intended, and probably afraid of using force towards the Christians, determined to chastise them through the instrumentality of the Druses.

All parties were thus almost equally to blame: the Maronites for being at the bottom of the whole trouble, the Druses for their ferocity, and the Turks for making scapegoats of the latter to gain their own intolerant ends. In order to be logical, Fuad Pasha had sentenced eleven chiefs to death. By stigmatising them as rebels, he hoped to make the Commissioners forget they were really accomplices.

On the other hand the attitude of the Maronites may be gauged from the fact that when Fuad Pasha asked the Bishops to submit the names of such people as were deserving of capital punishment, a list of four thousand nine hundred was furnished. This enormous demand was a tolerable indication of their feelings, and the list had to be cut down, rather more in consonance with humanity, to about seven hundred. When the Christian notables were invited to come forward and supply the Military Tribunal with some evidence or information against the persons they had accused, they flatly refused.

Although Syria was inhabited by ten distinct and uncivilized races, and these races again were split up into seventeen fanatical sects, Lord Dufferin expressed himself as convinced that the Government of the country would be a matter of little difficulty. Unfortunately the whole region had been regarded by the Porte for a long time as an outlying Pashalik, from which, in addition to revenues from taxation, a considerable profit ought to be extracted by farming the post of

Governor to the highest bidder. Such a practice naturally led to squeezing the people of the province, which was thus cursed with a succession of incapable and corrupt Pro-Consuls. Nevertheless, the valleys and plains of Coele-Syria, Hauran and Esdraelon were naturally productive, and under decent administration capable of ample development.

Lord Dufferin's suggested remedy was to convert Syria into a semi-independent Pashalik. He proposed that a Governor-General, named for a fixed term of years, should have a permanent authority, and that a Christian Pasha should govern the Mountain, controlled by the Civil Power. Four out of five of the Commissioners agreed that the Christian Pasha should not be a native of the Mountain. This scheme was regarded favourably, both by Sir Henry Bulwer, our ambassador at Constantinople, and by Lord John Russell. But on the proposal being laid before the Sultan it met with uncompromising disapproval. The status of the Danubian principalities and of Egypt had been productive of so much trouble that the constitution of a fresh dependency on similar lines was scarcely a project likely to commend itself to the Porte.

On being informed of the Sultan's decision, Lord John Russell perceived the necessity of proceeding on rather simpler lines. He therefore instructed Lord Dufferin to (1) preserve the Christian Kaimakamships as settled in 1842-5, (2)

confine the plan of the Commissioners to the government of the Lebanon, and to (3) ask from the Porte the immediate contribution of a sum of not less than £200,000 for the restoration of the Christian villages on the Mountain.

The fact was that the villagers had, for some time past, been in the most terrible plight. Most of the people had been despoiled of their bedding, and this in a peculiar climate like that of Syria, was a terrible business, for, with the rapid changes of temperature, absence of covering at night meant sickness or death. Fuad Pasha's representative, Abro Effendi, had no funds at his disposal, so Lord Dufferin most generously, offered out of his own private means, to advance £5,000, on the condition that Fuad Pasha pledged his personal honour for the repayment of the debt within a given time.

In March his Excellency, Fuad Pasha, paid a visit to Damascus, and suggested that the Commission might occupy the interval by drawing up a project for the re-organisation of the Lebanon for discussion with him on his return. Various plans were accordingly taken into consideration, that eventually commending itself to the majority being based on the geographical separation of the Christian and Druse populations. As, however, the Bairam soon after supervened, and Fuad Pasha's views were essential to the formulation of a complete scheme, Lord Dufferin took the opportunity in the interval to pay a visit to Tyre

and Sidon, with the object of ascertaining the condition of the refugees from Hasbeya and Rasbeya, then congregated near those towns to the number of about four thousand. A large proportion of these consisted of women and children, whose male relations had been butchered. Lord Dufferin sent for twelve of the most respectable men and questioned them, one at a time, in his tent. The prevailing feeling was that an example ought to be made of the Druses, and that the fugitives would be glad to return to their homes, if security for life and property were guaranteed.

In the meantime the approaching departure of the French troops, who had hitherto figured as the champions of order and religious tolerance as against the forces of disruption and fanaticism, was exciting a good deal of uneasiness. The foreign traders and merchants residing in the Lebanon and at Beyrout addressed a petition to the Commission, in which, while grateful for the protection afforded by the naval and military forces, to whose presence the pacification and comparative security of the country were due, they complained that ten months had elapsed since the massacres, and that the unfortunate victims as yet had received nothing but illusory promises of indemnity. The greater number of the guilty were still awaiting condign punishment, and the question of re-organisation was scarcely determined on even in principle. This petition was signed by two hundred and thirty-three persons.

A few weeks later an important conversation took place between M. Thouvenel and Lord Cowley in Paris. The former dwelt on the unsatisfactory condition of the country, as evinced in the petition, and remarked that nothing had been done towards the payment of the indemnities sanctioned by the Commission, while the forced loan which it had been intended to raise at Damascus as a previsament could not be realised. M. Thouvenel feared a catastrophe whenever the troops were withdrawn. Lord Cowley had, of course, no difficulty in meeting the suggested inference. "Turn and twist the question as you might, place whatever Government you chose in the Lebanon, the issue to be tried was simply this: Could and would the Porte maintain its authority?" M. Thouvenel admitted the difficulty of the situation, and candidly confessed that if he was asked to devise a solution of the Syrian question, he could not do it. His determination was, in the event of the entire withdrawal of the troops, to address a note to the Turkish Government, throwing upon them the whole responsibility of any untoward consequences. It is worth noting that the two Ministers were undoubtedly right in doing nothing to cancel or retard the withdrawal of the troops. Even the British merchants and residents at Beyrout, who had the best of reasons for rejoicing at the tranquillising effect of foreign occupation, saw its evils very plainly. In a joint letter addressed to Lord Dufferin they said, "Abstractedly considered,

such a measure (as the French occupation) is a calamity to any country where it is enforced, as its unavoidable effect must be to undermine all legitimate authority."

And if any further proof were needed of the effects of the occupation, we find it in Lord Dufferin's own words:

> The International Commission and the army of occupation seem completely to have effaced the Porte's authority on the Mountain, and the Maronite population is persuaded that the sole mission of the military interferences of Europe is to erect the Mountain into an independent principality, and to subject every other sect and community within its precincts to the domination of some servile tool of their own priesthood.

Eventually, the evacuation of Syria by the French expeditionary corps was completed by June 10th.

To revert, however, to the events of April, the scheme of the Commission was now fast approaching completion and final approval. There were various points, however, on which Lord Dufferin entertained more or less misgiving, and therefore he took the opportunity, before actual signature, to draw up a memorandum of his individual opinions. At the same time he made it clear that he was perfectly willing to subscribe his name to the composite project.

This memorandum of Lord Dufferin's is a very interesting paper. It is dated Beyrout, April, 1861, covers several foolscap pages of the Blue Book, and gives a clear *aperçu* of the conditions of the

problem which the Commission had to examine. The following reproduces the essential parts:

For several centuries the Lebanon had been a source of anxiety to all those interested in its administration. Entrenched within the fastnesses of their Mountain, its inhabitants had acquired a prescriptive right to certain exceptional privileges; but it was an error to suppose that previous to 1842 these privileges were founded on any other claims than such as a mountain population is tacitly allowed to establish by a weak and distant Government, and it is a still greater mistake to imagine that they possessed anything of a religious character.

After the conquest of Syria in the sixteenth century, by Sultan Selim, the Lebanon became subject to the Porte under exactly the same conditions as any other section of the province. For upwards of two hundred years its Government was administered by the Mohammedan Emirs, at first taken from the House of Ma'an, and latterly chosen out of the family of the Shehabs who derive their descent from a Mohammedan tribe of Southern Arabia. Emir Beshir, a man of vigorous and unscrupulous dealing, was the most prominent of these; but the downfall of Mahomet Ali, his patron, accomplished his ruin. His nephew succeeded to the title of Prince of the Lebanon, but he was regarded by the people with very different feelings as having degenerated from the representative of their Sovereign into the mere chief of a religious community.

The settlement of 1842 recognised, as a principle, the administrative independence one of another of the two most important races which compose the population of the Mountain, and rewarded the loyal spirit which had animated all sections of its inhabitants in the expulsion of the Egyptians, by the grant of elaborate municipal institutions.

The condition of affairs thus established endured with questionable success until the summer of 1860, when the events narrated above broke out with startling suddenness. The Commission which followed had to ascertain how far the disasters were to be referred to the arrangements of twenty years ago, and whether it would be possible by a different organisation to prevent their recurrence.

Lord Dufferin's answer to the former of these two points was, that the massacres were referable only in part, and in a minor degree, to the settlement of 1842, and the division of the Mountain. The chief characteristic of that settlement consisted in the administrative independence, one of another, of the two principle races of the Lebanon—a most beneficent arrangement. Unfortunately it was accompanied by a latitude of self-government which neither community was fit to exercise, and a species of chronic anarchy resulted. Feudal tyranny was substituted for constitutional law, and the vendetta system for criminal justice ; the whole presenting the same spectacle of disorder that used to characterise the worst-governed States of Europe in the worst period of the middle ages. The insecurity

of human life, the immunity of crime, and the prostitution of justice had probably prevailed to a greater extent in the Lebanon than in any corresponding area of the Turkish dominions.[1]

Irrespective of the loss of life in periodic war, it had been calculated that during the nineteen years immediately preceding the outbreak in 1860, about eleven hundred murders had been committed within the precincts of the Mountain, without a single author of any one of them having been brought to justice; while to enumerate the various minor acts of cruelty and oppression perpetrated during the same period was a practical impossibility.

The arrangement devised by the Commission to remedy these terrible evils practically confirmed the principles adopted in the Settlement of 1842. Separate jurisdictions were at that time granted to the Maronite and Druse communities: in 1861 arrangements were made for extending the same benefit to the Greek orthodox and the Greek Catholic rites. Other minor provisions were included to secure greater efficiency for the judicial councils, and further check on the tyranny of dominant majorities. The greatest blot of all, however, in Lord Dufferin's opinion, was the absence of all superintending and controlling authority on the part of the Imperial Government. He was also opposed to the stipulation that no troops should be sent into disturbed districts of the Mountain, except at the request of the

[1] Of course this was long before the Bulgarian and Armenian horrors.

Kaimakam, confirmed by the vote of the Medjlis. On the whole Lord Dufferin was disposed to question the expediency of continuing the anomalous autonomy of the Lebanon, for he mistrusted the qualification of the population for self-government.

There was, however, a hitch to intervene before the Commission finally reported. At a meeting at Lord Dufferin's house, preparatory to signing, the Prussian Commissioner unexpectedly informed his colleagues that he had received instructions from his Government to abandon the principle of a division of the Mountain into separate circumscriptions dependent on the Vali of Sarda, and had been recommended to advocate in its stead the establishment in the Lebanon of a single Christian Governor, dependent on the Porte. The Austrian Commissioner followed on similar lines. Lord Dufferin objected to the unanimous conclusion of the Commission being capriciously disavowed by the Commissioners themselves, on the mere intimation that the new project was regarded with disfavour in one or more of the distant capitals of Europe. Eventually a sort of compromise was arrived at. Neither the first nor revised project was signed, but both were appended as annexes to a short collective note, descriptive of the procedure adopted, and of the circumstances which had led to the elaboration of the second set of articles. Lord Dufferin explained, however, to Sir H. Bulwer that with the exception of the

Photo by] [*Sarrafian Bros., Beirut.*

MARONITE WOMEN.

[*To face p.* 56.

article placing a non-native Christian Governor at the head of the Mountain, the revised document differed in but very few particulars from those regulating the former plan. In some respects (notably in the matter of the entry of regular troops into the Mountain on occasions of emergency being no longer dependent on the consent of the Medjlis) it was preferable.

Although one or two additional meetings of the Commission were held subsequently at Beyrout this practically concluded Lord Dufferin's task, and on May 11th, he wrote both to Lord John Russell and to Sir Henry Bulwer stating his readiness to proceed as instructed to Constantinople. This despatch was acknowledged by Lord John in the following terms:

FOREIGN OFFICE.
May 27, 1861.

I have received and laid before the Queen your despatch of the 11th instant, reporting your departure for Constantinople; and I have great satisfaction in conveying to you, by the Queen's command, her Majesty's most gracious approval of all your conduct during the whole period of your residence in Syria.

The ability and judgment which you displayed in dealing with the intricate questions which came under discussion, the temper and conciliatory spirit which you uniformly maintained in your intercourse with your colleagues, and the zeal with which, while caring for the exigencies of public justice, you endeavoured to consult the claims of humanity, would necessarily ensure for you the approbation and thanks of her Majesty's Government; but I have still greater pleasure in ac-

quainting you that those qualities were warmly recognised by the Governments of those foreign Powers with whose representatives you have been associated in the arduous work of bringing about the pacification of Syria.

It only remains to say that Daoud Effendi was eventually appointed as Governor of the Lebanon, with the rank and title of Mushir. He was by birth an Armenian and of the Roman Catholic persuasion, and had held various offices of trust, his last appointment being Director-General of Telegraphs, in which he had displayed energy and business capacity. The appointment was considered a good one. Lord Dufferin's reward was the Knight Commandership of the Bath (Civil). When the offer first made to him was that conferred ten years later—an earldom.

It is very interesting here to recall what Lord Dufferin himself had to say, twenty-seven years later, as to the tribal arrangement effected in the Lebanon. At that time (1887) he was confronted with a somewhat analogous problem in the rising of the Ghilzais, an important Afghan tribe, and in a letter to the Secretary of State, dated May 19th, he suggested the substitution for the existing *régime* in Afghanistan of some such system as that established by him and his fellow-Commissioners in the Lebanon, in 1861. He added:

The tribes of the Lebanon at that date were as wild, as fierce, as blood-thirsty and as difficult to rule as ever have been the Afghans. Blood feuds were universal,

and the traditional jealousies of the clans, though themselves sufficiently intense, were still further embittered by animosities of race and religion, constantly fanned into a flame by foreign influences. Various expedients had been tried to introduce something like order into the Mountain. At one time, it was placed under a native Emir; then divided under two Governors; then the Turks endeavoured to establish their own military ascendancy; but every plan failed in turn until we put each principal section of the people under its own Chief, assisted by divisional councils, with an inter-tribal police under an independent Governor, appointed by the Turks, though not himself a Mohammedan. Under this system the domestic independence both of the Druses and of the Maronites remained perfectly free and uncontrolled. The Turkish troops garrisoned certain strategical points outside the privileged limits, but no Turkish soldiers were permitted to be quartered on the villagers, or to enter within the "liberties" of the tribes. Within a couple of years after these arrangements had been carried into effect, blood feuds entirely ceased, and from that time until the present day the Lebanon has been the most peaceful, the most contented, and the most prosperous province of the Ottoman dominion.

Still more recent testimony as to the fruits of the Commission of 1860, have reached me in the shape of a letter from Mr. R. Drummond Hay, H. B. M.'s Consul-General at Beyrout, dated September 11th, 1902. He says—"As to the general state of the Mountain, there are, of course, complaints on matters of detail, especially with regard to points where the Organic Statute has been disregarded; but it may fairly be said that the arrangements to which Lord Dufferin

contributed so much, have been on the whole successful, as the Lebanon offers complete security of life and property, and is certainly an exception to the usual state of Turkish possessions."

It would be difficult to light on a more satisfactory or convincing criterion of the solid good effected by Lord Dufferin's earliest essay in the field of statesmanship.[1]

[1] It may be noted here that Lord Dufferin's despatches in the Syrian Blue Book are all spelt "Dufferin and Claneboye." On this point the present Lord Dufferin has been kind enough to supply me with some interesting information. He refers to the following passages in "The Annals of Ireland by the Four Masters" (edition of J. O'Donovan):

Vol. i., p. 587: "Clann-Hugh-Boy," *i.e.* the race of Hugh Boy O'Neill, who was slain in 1283. They possessed at this period an extension to the east of Lough Neagh, which was called "Clann-Aodha-Buide," *anglicè* "Clannaboy," from their tribe name.

P. 605: "The race of Hugh Boy," *i.e.* of Hugh the Yellow. This tribe, as well as their country, is called "The Clannaboy" by English writers.

Lord Dufferin adds in his letter to me: "Not being an Irish scholar I do not know how 'Aodha'—the Celtic for 'Hugh'—is pronounced, but I imagine the 'd' in it was sounded, and that my father therefore thought that 'Clandeboye' more nearly reproduced the Celtic form of the word than 'Claneboye.'

"The spelling 'Claneboye' is still retained in the Irish Barony, and when voting for an Irish Representative Peer we sign our names 'Dufferin and Claneboye.'"

CHAPTER IV

DEATH OF PRINCE CONSORT—MARRIAGE OF LORD DUFFERIN—UNDER-SECRETARY FOR INDIA AND FOR WAR—SPEECHES IN PARLIAMENT—VIEWS ON IRELAND—CHANCELLOR OF DUCHY AND PAYMASTER GENERAL

TOWARDS the close of the year 1861, the Queen and her people were thrown into profound grief by the death of the Prince Consort. Her Majesty's speech from the throne was delivered by Royal Commissioners, and the task of moving the Address in the House of Lords was entrusted to Lord Dufferin. The grace, eloquence, and pathos that characterised his speech, supplied clear evidence to the Lords of the orator that had arisen in their midst. The speech was almost ideal. It was modest, as befitted the orator's age and standing in the House, and yet the opinions of the speaker were launched forth in bold and confident tones. It disclaimed any panegyric aims, but the fearless way in which the difficulties of Prince Albert's position were indicated, formed a convincing tribute to his acknowledged services and worth. One of the most prominent passages was the following:

Here was one who was neither king, warrior, nor legislator, occupying a position in its very nature incompatible with all personal pre-eminence—alike debarred the achievement of military renown and political distinction; secluded within the precincts of what might easily have become a negative existence; neither able to confer those favours which purchase popularity, nor possessing in any peculiar degree the trick of manner which seduces it, who nevertheless succeeded in winning for himself an amount of consideration and confidence such as the most distinguished or the most successful of mankind have seldom attained. By what combination of qualities a stranger and an alien, exercising no definite political functions, ever verging on the peril of a false position, his daily life exposed to ceaseless observation, shut out from the encouragement afforded by the sympathy of intimate friendship, the support of partisans, the good fellowship of society; how such an one acquired so remarkable a hold on the affections of a jealous insular people, might well excite the astonishment of any one acquainted with the temper and the peculiarities of the British nation.

The social side of the Prince Consort's life and popularity was reviewed in phraseology, if anything still more felicitous and touching, and the tribute of condolence to the Queen was appropriately and feelingly closed with the lines:

> May all love,
> His love unseen, but felt, o'ershadow thee,
> The love of all thy sons encompass thee,
> The love of all thy daughters cherish thee,
> The love of all thy people comfort thee,
> Till God's love set thee at his side again.[1]

[1] From the end of the dedication prefixed to Tennyson's "Idylls of the King."

In the same speech grateful acknowledgment was made of the long and distinguished services of Lord Herbert and Sir James Graham, both of whom had died in the same year, and a fine allusion to the watchword *Laboremus*, given to his Captain of the Guard by the Emperor Septimius Severus, while on his deathbed at York, supplied the point to a masterly peroration.

Lord Dufferin's happy marriage took place on October 23rd, 1862. His bride was Hariot Georgina, eldest daughter of Archibald Rowan Hamilton, Esq., of Killyleagh Castle, County Down, a lady whose single-minded devotion to the public interests entrusted to the charge of her husband; whose example in her own family circle, and whose kindness to all those with whom she has been brought into contact, have contributed much to her own as well as her husband's popularity.

On the day deputations of the tenantries from the Killyleagh and Clandeboye estates presented addresses to Mrs. Hamilton and Lord Dufferin. Both these addresses were couched in feeling terms and elicited sympathetic replies, that of Mrs. Hamilton making reference to Lord Dufferin as "the best-loved friend" of Captain Hamilton. The bridegroom's reply was as follows:—

GENTLEMEN,

On an occasion like the present, the fewest words generally convey the most meaning, and when I say I

thank you, you will feel what I wish you to understand. You have known my bride from her childhood, and can therefore guess how great my happiness must be. I trust I shall make her a good husband, and that she will be a happy wife. As for the future, we neither of us can have a higher ambition than to do our duty faithfully in that station in which God has placed us,

DUFFERIN AND CLANDEBOYE.

The ceremony was performed about 7 p.m. in the drawing-room at Killyleagh Castle, the bride being given away by her brother, and the Misses G. and Catherine Hamilton being the bridesmaids.

Lord and Lady Dufferin then drove off to Clandeboye, but on emerging from the Castle grounds the horses were loosed from the carriage, and the latter drawn by a number of the tenants through the principal streets of the town, amid a scene of great *éclat* and rejoicing—bonfires, illuminations and fireworks being in evidence for miles around.

Lord Dufferin was appointed Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for India on November 16th, 1864. He was the sixth holder of the office, which, of course, had existed only since the transfer of the administration of Hindustan to the Crown. His predecessors had been successively Mr. H. J. Baillie, M.P., Mr. T. G. Baring (the present Earl Northbrook), Earl de Grey and Ripon (now Marquess of Ripon), Mr. T. G. Baring, for the second time, and Lord Wodehouse, afterwards

Earl Kimberley. A Secretary of State of India, in those days, had not the same onerous duties that devolve upon him now, and an Under-Secretary's offices were still lighter. Lord Dufferin had to reply to the rare interpellations in the Upper House, on Indian topics. Witness, for instance, a question about Bhutan put to him on April 7th, 1865. Relations between that Frontier State and the Government of India were then strained, the whole history of our connection with Bhutan having been a continuous record of injuries to our subjects all along the frontier of two hundred and fifty miles, of denials of justice, and of acts of insult to the Government. In 1863 the Hon. Ashley Eden, with three subordinate officers, was sent on a mission to Bhutan to try and arrange matters on a peaceable basis and conclude a treaty. Unfortunately the country was in a disturbed condition, and the Bhutan Durbar lost its head. Mr. Eden was treated with audacious insolence, and the Bhutan authorities followed up impossible demands by stopping supplies of provisions to the Mission, and personal outrages on its members. Mr. Eden managed to escape, and on his return a punitive expedition was organised and, in the year 1865, exacted satisfaction from the Bhutanese. It was during the early part of the military operations referred to that Lord Dufferin had to make a brief statement in the House of Lords of the objects of the expedition.

In the following month Lord Dufferin was called

on to reply to an interpellation as to the position of the British officers of the native regiments which had been disbanded at the time of the Mutiny. These officers, of course, had their grievances, but it seemed to be generally realised that it was practically impossible to provide them with the same prospects as they would have succeeded to if the disbandment of their regiments had not had to be enforced. The question and answer were unimportant enough, but Lord Dufferin managed to introduce one of his usual touches of humour, by comparing the compromise of the Secretary of State, Sir C. Wood, to that of the innkeeper who was suddenly called upon to provide thirteen nuns with a bedroom apiece, when he had only twelve rooms at his disposal. Lord Lyveden, however, capped this sally rather cleverly. He remarked that the real end of the story had been omitted by Lord Dufferin. The point was, How did the innkeeper manage in these trying circumstances? and when the hearer gives it up, the proper answer of the narrator is, So did the innkeeper! The Secretary of State, so Lord Lyveden declared, ought to have done the same, and given it up too, rather than attempt an utterly impossible compromise.

Sir Charles Wood, Lord Dufferin's chief, met with a serious accident in the hunting field, during the autumn of 1865, which obliged him to give up all arduous official work and, in the following year, to resign the Indian Secretaryship of State.

His successor in that high office was Earl de Grey and Ripon, and, as an Under Secretary in the Lower House thus became a necessity, Lord Dufferin was transferred to the War Office, his old post at the India Office being taken by Mr. James Stansfield, M.P.

During his few months' sojourn at the War Office Lord Dufferin was called upon to reply, for the Government, in an important debate (on March 16th) on the state of Ireland. The Fenian movement was then beginning to make headway, and to excite wide-spread disaffection. With a view of drawing the Government Earl Grey initiated a debate, and towards the end of his speech moved a series of twelve resolutions, the first in favour of an Irish Parliament and the last two in favour of the improvement of agriculture and land tenure. All the other resolutions were directed against the Church of the minority being regarded as the Established Church of Ireland.

It was natural that the Government should put up a representative Irishman out of their ranks to reply, and it was natural that the Irishman should lead off with a bit of chaff. Lord Dufferin compared Lord Grey and his unexpected twelve resolutions, with an American duellist, who, first concealing a 12-barrelled revolver about his person, engages his antagonist in friendly converse, and then suddenly discharges his weapon at him, through his pocket. Lord Dufferin frankly said he did not appear as the advocate or the apologist of the

Established Church system in Ireland, and in a great deal of what had fallen from the noble Earl he felt disposed to agree, but he added that the presence of the Established Church had nothing to do with the existing disaffection, which was mainly of a Fenian character. Lord Dufferin avowed himself also in favour of improving the law dealing with the relations between landlord and tenant. As to emigration he clearly disposed of the allegation that the large emigration that had taken place of late years was due to evictions. He cited on good authority a dictum that in 1841 five persons were engaged in the cultivation of the soil in Ireland, where only two persons were similarly engaged in England, though at the same time the total agricultural produce of England was exactly four times the total of the agricultural produce of Ireland.

The real foundation on which, in Ireland, the whole fabric of the State rested was the potato.

The poorest peasant could always find a patch of mountain where he could grow his favourite vegetable; there were always stones and mud at hand out of which to construct a cabin; there was always a bog near to cut turf from; there was a handsome girl to make him the father of twelve children, in about a dozen years, and there was always the domestic pig to pay the rent. Potatoes, pigs and children were propagated in a highly agreeable and free-hearted manner.

Other facts were brought forward by the speaker to shew that emigration was not the evil it was

so often described as. Within sixteen years of its commencement, the people who had left their old home, almost in the guise of paupers, had actually earned enough to remit to their friends in the old country £12,000,000. The density of population in Ireland was 181 per square mile, this being greater than that of any European country, wages had risen, crime had diminished and Ireland had even outstripped England in its progress in agricultural wealth. Fenianism was the last wave of Irish discontent, and the Irish nation, Lord Dufferin averred in conclusion, was essentially loyal and contented, spite of a "traditional hostility" to England among the lowest class. "What they demand is your sympathy, the actual presence of yourselves, your wives, and your daughters moving among them in the villages, active in the promotion of works of charity, thus convincing the people that you regard them as your fellow countrymen, and Ireland as your country."

After a few speeches from the Archbishop of Armagh, Lord Carnarvon and Earl Russell, the motion of Earl Grey was negatived, and the Premier's amendment in favour of a Commission of Inquiry affirmed.

One of Lord Dufferin's first essays in the region of political economy was a pamphlet of some forty quarto pages, entitled "Mr. Mill's 'Plan for the Pacification of Ireland,'" published by Mr. Murray in 1868. Mr. Mill had, in the words of Lord Dufferin, recommended the following:

The landed estates of all the proprietors of Ireland are to be brought to a forced sale. Their price is to be fixed at the discretion of parliamentary commissioners. Should the rent roll of any estate be above the figure which may recommend itself to the approval of these gentlemen, it will be reduced to more legitimate proportions, and its owner compensated on the amended valuation. The vacated properties will be then handed over to that section of the Irish agricultural class who may happen to be in the occupation of farms at the moment the projected Act receives the Royal Assent, and the accruing quit-rents will thenceforth be collected through the instrumentality of Government land agents, Government bailiffs, and Government process servers.

The vexed question of Irish land tenure has formed the subject of so much fierce and incessant recrimination, and passed through so many developments, that I only venture to quote a few passages from this pamphlet, because they seem to my mind typical of Lord Dufferin's style of thinking and manner of conducting a controversy. At the outset he is conscious that he is pitting himself against a thinker and writer of high reputation.

In other circumstances I should have hesitated to enter the arena with so august an antagonist; but when your house is broken into, you have no time to examine whether the intruder's thews are mightier than your own. You close with him on the spot. Even should he prove to be a policeman in plain clothes, you may be excused for assuming an attitude of self-defence.

He is severe on Mr. Mill's main contention that "land is a thing which no man made, which exists in limited quantity, which was the original in-

heritance of all mankind, which whoever appropriates keeps others out of its possession." He points out that the same principle or theory must not be limited to a few inches of the earth's surface, but should include the world's wealth of water, its secret stores of gold and silver, its fields of buried fuel, which were equally contrived by the Almighty for man's use. "The subordination to Imperial exigencies of an individual's property in a coal mine or a mill dam, would be as complete in the case of a cornfield." In fact, Lord Dufferin points out that Proudhon's well-known apothegm, *La propriété c'est le vol* is more logical than Mill's limited application of it to the landed estates of the United Kingdom.

In the following sentences he seems to me to formulate a fair critical comment on the contentions of people who even now declare that "landlordism" in Ireland must go.

> It will be found that when persons exclaim against the tenures and the land laws of Ireland, what they want to see changed is neither the tenures nor the laws, but the relative situations of those affected by them. What they really object to is not that rent should be recoverable, but that the proportion of those who pay rent and receive rent, should be reversed. This, of course, is a perfectly reasonable aspiration, and those who share it are entitled to advocate any legitimate process which would be likely to promote their object; but to denounce a state of the law which would be found as necessary then for the protection of the poorest peasant proprietor, as it is now for that of the wealthiest landlord, is illogical.

The strength of Lord Dufferin's position was

that he was himself an Irish landlord, who resided, as far as his public duties allowed him, on his own property in County Down, and not only interested himself greatly in such matters as crops, the price of land, houses and cottages, rates of wages and other multifarious branches of the question, but had spent large sums on improvements designed for the benefit of his tenants. In fact he was a type of the best of Irish landlords.

As to his own property Lord Dufferin gave some interesting information. When it came originally into his family, some two hundred and fifty years before, the principal portion of it was forest and morass. A tradition still existed that in those ancient days a squirrel could go from one end of it to another without once touching the ground. Under his predecessors, it had been gradually brought into cultivation and its resources developed, while the relations with the tenantry had been uniformly friendly. He went on, however, with chivalrous courtesy to speak of his neighbours, who, he maintained, were conspicuous instances of good landlords. One was Mr. Sharman Crawford, a gentleman admittedly very popular with his tenants; another was promoting the prosperity of a whole neighbourhood by the prudent liberality with which he had inaugurated his career as a landed proprietor. On another side Clandeboye marched with the distinguished French exile[1] who introduced the linen trade into Ireland and founded

[1] Mr. de la Cherois-Crommelin.

the prosperity of Ulster, while in another direction stretched the prosperous estate of a nobleman whose ancestor became Prime Minister of England.

If, however, the whole *brochure* be characteristic, the concluding paragraph is specially so.

> In bringing the foregoing hurried observation to a close, I am painfully oppressed by the ungracious character of the task I have undertaken. . . . I can only plead in mitigation of my offence, that probably there is not one among them (Mr. Mill's friends) who has such a profound respect for the intellectual power and pure integrity of purpose displayed in every word that has ever been said or written by one of the great thinkers of our time. If, in the opinion of others, I may be thought to have gained some little advantage in the present controversy, it will only be for the same reason that a handful of feeble savages are sometimes able to defend the defiles of their native mountains against a powerful European army—*because they know the country.*

Lord Dufferin was a supporter of the disestablishment policy in regard to the Church of Ireland, and had indicated his views thereon in a masterly speech in the House of Lords on June 26th, 1868.

On the advent to power of Mr. Gladstone on December 7th, 1868, Lord Dufferin was appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Paymaster General, offices which he held until 1872. Soon after his appointment, in a public speech he made humorous allusion to his duties, which were naturally of a light and almost purely honorary description, and in the course of his remarks described himself as "maid of all work" of the

Government. The phrase was happy, but it would have been more prophetically and officially accurate if he had styled himself as *en disponibilité*, for that was the obvious meaning of the duties temporarily assigned to him. His great chance was soon to come. In the meantime Mr. Gladstone managed to find some important miscellaneous jobs for his Lordship.

In 1869 he was created Chairman of a Royal Commission on Military Education. The inquiry had been started in the previous year under the chairmanship of Earl de Grey and Ripon, and on his resignation Mr. Gladstone cast about for a fitting successor among the ranks of his friends, and not unnaturally lighted on Lord Dufferin. It was a difficult and rather wide investigation; sixty-three meetings in all were held and finally a Report had to be drafted by the Chairman, embodying the general sense of the Commissioners. This was successfully carried through by Lord Dufferin, and signed on August 9th, 1869. The result, though scarcely needing detailed notice in these pages, produced some very salutary reforms in a highly technical and professional instruction, which, of course, requires fresh and closer attention from time to time. In the light of the experiences of the South African campaign, demands are being now put forward in various quarters for a complete overhauling of the subject.[1]

Oddly enough, the sister service was soon to

[1] See letter on this Royal Commission from the Rev. H. Montagu Butler, D.D., p. 384.

require his good offices in an analogous inquiry. The loss of the *Captain* in the Bay of Biscay, on the night of September 6th, 1870, had thrown anxious doubt on the best form of design for the ships of our iron-clad fleet, which was being rapidly evolved into being, and on January 12th, 1871, the Lords of the Admiralty appointed a Special Committee of sixteen in all, under the chairmanship of Lord Dufferin, to take evidence, and report on this momentous matter. The inquiry was, of course, of a rather technical and expert nature, but the Report, dated July 26th of the same year, led to far more attention being paid to the stability of ships of war.

The condition of Ireland had for some time been so deplorable that the Government found themselves compelled to pass a Peace Preservation Bill in 1870, and it fell to Lord Dufferin, to bring it into the House of Lords, a task from which, though specially painful to him, he in no way shrank. A few months later he had to move the second reading of the famous Land Bill, in doing which he had the satisfaction of pointing out that he himself had years previously been contending for the legislation of its main principles. But the subsequent course of land legislation in Ireland was very far from meeting his approval in 1897 (see p. 356.

The next year (1871) saw the conferment on him of the Earldom of Dufferin and the Viscountcy of Clandeboye.

CHAPTER V

GOVERNOR-GENERALSHIP OF CANADA

BELFAST BANQUET—ARRIVAL AT QUEBEC—OTTAWA—TORONTO —MONTREAL—OPENING OF PARLIAMENT—CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY SCANDALS—REASSEMBLING OF PARLIAMENT—TOUR IN MARITIME PROVINCES

IT was not till the early part of 1872 that Lord Dufferin was honoured with his first great opportunity, the brilliant fulfilment of which marked him out as one of the first statesmen of the day. The offer to him of the Canadian Viceroyalty from Mr. Gladstone was a conspicuous proof of the confidence reposed in him by the Queen and her Ministers. For the post was no light undertaking. The dependencies of the Empire were at that time in comparative infancy, and far from attaining the expansion, wealth, and importance, which under more enlightened statesmanship and active encouragement from home, have since combined to raise them to the dignity of living bulwarks of our Empire beyond the seas. Nevertheless the North American colonies were showing vigorous signs of growth, following on the grant of responsible government and subsequent federation

under the Act of 1867. This Act united into one dominion, a country forty times the size of England, Scotland, and Wales. But the union was as yet fresh and imperfect, and local susceptibilities were by no means allayed.

Moreover, the relations of Great Britain with the United States on the one hand, and with her colonies on the other, were far from satisfactorily settled, and called for prudent and delicate handling. Lord Dufferin came, too, as the nominee of a government which was debited with half-heartedness in the maintenance of the existing connection between the Mother country and her dependencies, and this must have further embarrassed his task.

Mr. Leggo remarks in his work, "It was urged against Mr. Gladstone that he had, in tolerably plain terms, informed Canada that England would consent to retain her, only so long as she cost nothing, and would be ready to cast her off at any moment, and would certainly do so, if ever her sacrifice became necessary to secure peace." Nowadays, views like these would be held to be almost treasonable, if they were not regarded as too laughable for serious notice.[1]

Yet the popular verdict as to the new Governor-General's competency to emerge successfully from

[1] How prophetic and apposite is Bacon's remark in his "Essay on Plantations": "For the principal thing that hath been the destruction of most plantations hath been the base and hasty drawing of profit in the first years."

his impending ordeal was favourable. One of the leading English journals fairly voiced the prevailing opinion in the following terms :

Lord Dufferin has at length obtained a working office, in the conduct of which he can display his signal abilities. Courteous, cultivated, prudent, yet enterprising, gifted with an imagination which is as useful to a general or a statesman, as to a poet or a musician, the new Governor-General is precisely the person to fill an office which demands tact in the management of men, acuteness in the perception of things, and a comprehensive moderation able to make ample allowance for party passions and national peculiarities. If the same talents which fitted Lord Dufferin for mediating successfully between the stolid Mussulman and the fanatical Druse, the shifting Maronite and the red-breeched Frenchman, will enable him to deal equitably with the French Acadian, the orange, green and sturdy old buff and blue Canadian, and the generous but quick-tempered Yankees across the border, it is a matter of surprise to many that a politician, whose abilities, were well known, should have been kept so long out of active employment. Lord Dufferin's Irish blood and breeding will stand him in good stead among a people variously composed of Celt and Teuton, yet strongly attached to the old country.

In connection with the foregoing I cannot resist the temptation of quoting the following extract from one of a London Correspondent's letters to a Canadian journal.

I once got on top of an omnibus, running from Kingston towards Piccadilly—eschewing the inside in order that I might enjoy a balmy April morning, and also a whiff of that weed, which, as the Indians told Columbus, "destroys care." By my side there sat a middle-sized man

with a very intelligent countenance, who had taken the same elevated but democratic position, from evidently the same motive as mine. We had a good deal of conversation. He was particularly interested in America and indicated such an intimacy with its politics, that he might have been mistaken for an American, especially as there was very little of the Englishman in his appearance. He had a face more Celtic than Saxon—a fine intellectual forehead—a light soft eye—in all a face of delicate beauty, but at the same time vigorous in expression. We discussed Tennyson's poetry, and that of Robert Browning. Certain little observations made me aware that he was the personal friend of both poets. But he was chiefly interested in American politics, taking very heartily the side of the men of progress there, and asking many questions about Wendell Phillips, and other reformers. He said it had been his privilege to meet Senator Sumner when he was in Europe seeking to recover his health, and was much pleased with him, but that he had felt deeply grieved by his speech on the Alabama question. It did not at all do justice even to the devotion which many of the highest classes, even the nobility—the Argylls, Granvilles, Howards, Carlisles, Houghtons and others—had shewn to the cause of the North; much less to the sacrifices which the great mass of working people had borne unmurmuringly, rather than countenance any of the propositions made for interfering with the determination of the North to crush the rebellion. He rejoiced in the liberation of America from slavery, and believed it would be reflected in England and in Europe in a mighty advance of liberalism. He hoped still that the Alabama difficulties would be surmounted, and England and America enter upon a friendship such as they had never before known; and march together on the highway of human progress. I was much delighted with my companion's ideas of literature, art, and politics, his fine eye and his charming voice, his beaming expression,

convinced me that I was in the presence of no ordinary man. By the time we reached Regent Circus, cigars were ended—my new acquaintance alighted and disappeared among the millions of London, with a fair prospect of remaining with me for the time to come only as a pleasant memory. But it was not so to be. A few evenings afterwards I happened to be in the strangers section of the House of Lords. A debate in which I found little interest was going on, and my eyes were wandering about from face to face, lingering here and there upon one which seemed like an historical figure-head of ancient aristocratic England. But a voice struck me as one I had heard before. I could not be mistaken in that low clear tone. Certainly when I looked in the direction of the man who had begun to speak I could not be mistaken. It was my friend of the omnibus-top. Dry as the theme was—I have forgotten it—the speaker invested it with interest. He had looked deeper into it than others—knew the point on which the question turned, and in a few simple words made the statement to which nothing could be added.

The peer was of course Lord Dufferin.

Soon after the announcement of his Canadian appointment, the good people of Belfast gave their distinguished neighbour a banquet as a send-off, which was held on June 11th.[1] All shades of politics were represented, for Lord Dufferin, though labelled as a Liberal, was so thoroughly cosmopolitan as to compel good-will, even from his political opponents. On that

[1] One biography of Lord Dufferin gives it as the 11th, and another with equal seriousness as the 12th. And this within only thirty years of the event! Who shall say that the would-be historian's is a happy lot?

occasion his speech in no way fell short of what might fairly have been expected. It was just as modest, deferential, and nicely suited to the occasion as a fastidious critic could have desired. After a brief and happy reference to the fact that political controversy seldom degenerates into personal rancour; that judges, ambassadors or viceroys, when once invested with authority are regarded—without reference to their political antecedents—as the common servants, champions, or representatives of their countrymen, he led up to this passage: "This generosity of sentiment on the part of the British people seems to have acted like an inspiration on the minds of those great men, whose services abroad have added so many glorious pages to our history. It has purified their natures, elevated their aspirations, invigorated their intellects, until, as in the case of Lord Canning, Lord Elgin, and our late countryman—Lord Mayo, their reputations have expanded beyond the anticipations of their warmest friends, and in dying they have left behind them almost heroic memories." And then he insensibly drew on his hearers to contemplate the following pleasing picture.

As the ship he sails in slowly moves away from the familiar shore; as the well-known features of the landscape, the bright villas, the pointed spires, the pleasant woods, the torrent beds that scar the mountain side, gradually melt down into a single tint, till only the broad outline of his native coast attracts his gaze, something of an analogous

process operates within his mind, and as he considers his mission and his destiny, the landmarks of home politics grow faint, the rugged controversies which divide opinion become indistinct, the antagonisms of party strife recede into the distance, while their place is occupied by the aspect of an united nation, which has confided its interests and its honour to his keeping, and by the image of the beloved Mistress he represents and serves.

Recently, a good deal of banter has been bestowed on oratorical metaphors, but the brightest essays of the world's greatest speakers would be assuredly dry and dull without them. Lord Salisbury's opinion[1] may perhaps be recalled. "Metaphors are admirable things. They adorn oratory. They often enable you to explain in a short compass." It is true our late Premier went on to deprecate the pushing of metaphors to excess, but this obvious caution will not detract from the usefulness and beauty of "tropes" such as the above. At the same time, the subject of this memoir seems to have subsequently arrived at the conclusion that they were best avoided (see p. 171).

In the same speech Lord Dufferin dwelt on the resources of Canada—a branch of the subject-matter that he had evidently studied with care, and on which he was soon to descant with still closer knowledge.

On June 14th, their Excellencies embarked on the Allan Steamship *Prussian*, which on the 25th instant arrived at Quebec. The oldest city of Canada—it was founded by Champlain in 1608

[1] Reply to Address from Irish Nonconformist Ministers, Nov. 14th, 1888.

—has been often described as a bit of the old world set down on the shores of the new ; and its gaily decorated battlements[1] must have presented a cheering and exciting picture, while the ships and ancient Citadel thundered forth such a welcome as no previous Governor-General had ever enjoyed. He was cordially received on landing by Sir John Macdonald, the Premier (who was very like "Dizzy," as Lady Dufferin remarked), the President of the Senate, several of the ministers and other distinguished citizens, amid the acclamations of an enormous crowd who thronged every available vantage point. Lady Dufferin thus mentions their arrival :

> The papers give a most amusing description of D., stating his apparent weight and height. I am very flatteringly described, though the ignorant male writer speaks slightingly of my dress as being a "plain blue silk," whereas it was in reality excessively smart and had caused me infinite trouble and anxiety! However, I had the satisfaction of hearing from Lady Harriet Fletcher[2] that the ladies knew better and had appreciated it.

During the day the new Governor-General was duly sworn in, in the Executive Council Chamber, the Chief Justice administering the oath. Addresses of welcome flowed in from

[1] When Lord Dufferin arrived in Quebec, he found that the municipality had begun to demolish the walls and fortifications. He succeeded in stopping the operations, and suggested the improvements carried out later on. See p. 120.

[2] Daughter of the Earl of Romney and wife of Lord Dufferin's Military Secretary.

various bodies, and after a visit to the volunteer camp at Lévis, the Viceregal party left on the following day for the Dominion capital at Ottawa.

Here a large number of addresses, emanating from Corporations, Institutions, and other public bodies awaited him. An interesting visit, too, was paid to some other of the volunteer drill-camps, which were then in working order, and have since formed the nursery for the contingents that have done such brilliant work in South Africa. According to the latest figures at the present day (1902) the active militia number over thirty-six thousand men, while the reserve is estimated at over a million. Even in those early days Lord Dufferin could not help being struck by the magnificent physique, steadiness, and proficiency of the men; and as a former Under Secretary of State, and member of a Military Commission, he knew something about soldiering.

At Laprairie the Mayor addressed the Governor-General in French, and the latter to the great delight of the French officers and men replied in the same language. Lord Dufferin showed in this that attention to linguistic *convenances*, to which, perhaps, the out-and-out "Britisher" is not sufficiently heedful. As a rule, Englishmen are not good at foreign tongues, but Lord Dufferin spoke French with a pure Parisian accent, and also understood and read Greek, Latin and Italian, besides having made considerable progress in the study of hieroglyphics. During his reign as Viceroy

in India he studied Persian, and gained proficiency in that language. At the McGill University he was made the recipient of an address in Greek to which he replied in that language,[1] and with such success as to call forth the encomiums of some high classical authorities for the neat, terse diction and pure Attic style of the composition. But far above these will endure that delicious monument of dog-Latin which graced the memorable feast in Iceland, and to which reference has already been made.

Lord and Lady Dufferin next returned to Quebec and took up their residence at the Citadel, where a brilliant and popular series of entertainments was inaugurated. Dinner parties, receptions, dances, and balls, brought back to Old Quebec the long-forgotten memories of the ancient *régime* when the proud and courtly chivalry of France held sway there. The palmy days of the old French Governors had come again, and for a time, at least, Quebec assumed the character of another Versailles and a second Dublin, and the viceregal hospitalities vied in splendour with those of the famous Court at the Castle. Nor did the intercourse between the Governor-General and his people stop here. He was sedulous in his visits of inspection to the educational institutions, and displayed quite as warm an interest in the Catholic as in the Protestant schools. Moreover, sporting functions were not neglected, and at the Stadacona athletic sports Lady Dufferin distributed the prizes.

[1] See p. 371.

But the Viceroy was expected in the western part of the Dominion before the advent of winter, and his departure from Quebec could not be deferred. The appointed date, September 23rd, was made the occasion of a gala demonstration. The Governor's reply to the Mayor's address contained a felicitous passage, thoroughly indicative of Lord Dufferin's kind way.

> Encamped, however, as we have been upon the rock above us, and confined within the narrow casements of the Citadel,[1] it was impossible for us to open our doors as widely as we could have wished; but though in one sense the space at our disposal for your accommodation has been restricted, in another way, at all events, we can make ample provision for you all. In the chambers of our hearts there is room and verge enough for many friends. Their avenues are guarded by no State, nor ceremonial; no introduction is needed to gain admission there, and those who once enter need never take their leave.

Toronto, the "Queen City," organised a magnificent public reception: at Hamilton, where the Provincial Exhibition was in full swing, fifty thousand people gathered in the grounds, to do honour to the viceregal party. At Petrolia the oil industry was seen with all its busy evidences of success and prosperity, and on his return to

[1] The Citadel, where the Dufferins resided while in Quebec, occupies a delightfully lofty, and commanding position over the town, the majestic St. Lawrence, and the blue hills beyond. The old mess-room, converted into the dining-room, opened on to a huge platform girt by a balustrade, where everyone delights to *flâner*, and enjoy one of the most celebrated views of the world.

Photo by [*Canadian Pacific Railway Company.*

TORONTO.

[*To face p.* 86.

Toronto, Lord Dufferin made an extended series of visits to the principal educational institutions including University College—on the occasion of its annual convocation—and Trinity College.

At the end of October, Lord Dufferin made a move for the capital with the view of entering upon his regular administrative duties. By this time he had already achieved his mark and secured a distinct claim to the respect and affections of the Canadians.[1] Mr. Stewart remarks:

Wherever he had been, he had left behind him a reputation such as no previous Governor-General of Canada had ever gained. The splendid style of the Earl of Elgin had been eclipsed; the magnificence of Lord Sydenham's entertainments had been more than surpassed. Lord Dufferin won all hearts from the very first. . . . Lord

[1] The following remarks of the correspondent of the *New York World* may be cited as a disinterested criticism. "It would be trite to say that, since Lord Dufferin came to Canada he has been winning 'golden opinions' from all classes. He is the most popular of Royal representatives, and court journalists never tire of singing his praises. He has placed upon record his mature conviction that he has social as well as political responsibilities, and he has accordingly entered upon a ceaseless round of festivities and entertainments. Not only does he give splendid balls and magnificent dinners, but he holds lévées, attends concerts, visits public schools, patronises lacrosse matches, lays corner stones, attends University convocations, receives addresses on all possible occasions, and delivers happy impromptu replies. He mingles very freely with the people and is altogether so unaffected, pleasant and popular, that if the Great American Eagle were to be his guest at Holland House, Toronto, or Rideau Hall, Ottawa, the Geneva award might be cancelled, or perhaps handed over to the Dominion to pay for the enlargement of its canals. Not only does his Excellency guide the affairs of a growing nation, but he buys dolls for pretty little girls in the street. The Earl of Dufferin is, in fact, the most wonderful and popular Governor that has been for years bestowed on the loyal Canadians."

Dufferin had been in the East, and his quick discerning mind had not been slow to comprehend the character of the people, and the wide difference between them (*i.e.*, the Orientals and the "true Northerners").

But Lord Dufferin was not the only subject of journalistic eulogy. Another compliment paid by the papers was that the Countess was "not affected"—a negative virtue which, as she remarked, might be mentioned without incurring the allegation of conceit. Indeed this was a mild way of putting it, witness the following incident. Her Excellency was to be at home to receive visitors, so she and Lady Harriet Fletcher sat in state, but nobody came! At five o'clock Lord Dufferin came home, and his wife remarked that not a single soul had called to see them. The servant was duly questioned, and it turned out he had replied "not at home" to every caller. The visitor's book revealed the fact that the callers were one hundred and four in number, so Lady Dufferin promptly sat down and wrote one hundred and four letters of explanation and apology.

A brief visit to Montreal became necessary in November for the purpose of unveiling a statue of the Queen, "an appropriate and congenial duty," as the Governor-General remarked. His speech contained a touching tribute to her Majesty's personal qualities, which had so helped to maintain her remarkable hold over the hearts of her people. "He had served near the person of the Sovereign,

and had had renewed opportunities of observing with what patience, patriotism and devotion to the public service, her brave and noble nature bore each burden and discharged each daily task. From dissipation, gaieties, the distraction of society, the widowed Sovereign may have shrunk, but from duty never." At the request of the Mayor, his Excellency also addressed the company in French, in which he paid some sensible and agreeable compliments to the "race valeureuse et hardie, dont les explorateurs dans l'intérieur de le continent ont permis à l'industrie européene de s'implanter non seulement sur les bords du Saint-Laurent, mais encore dans les riches vallées de l'Ohio et du Mississipi."

A visit to Quebec gave opportunity for various other Canadian functions—a "snow-shoe tramp" by torchlight, a sleigh journey to the Mont Morency Falls (eighty feet higher than Niagara), and a descent of the ice cone. At Montreal a tour of inspection of institutions, similar to that pursued at Toronto, took place. A "Citizen's Ball" came off on January 28th, and brought the Viceregal visit to a close.

It was on March 5th, 1873, that the second Parliament of the Dominion of Canada met for the despatch of business. The election of 1872 had given the Government of Sir John Macdonald renewed power. His party were triumphant at the polls, and though a few important seats had

been lost, the Premier found himself at the head of a majority of from thirty-seven to forty members. The Coalition Government, which was strong in 1867, was still stronger in 1872, and decidedly more conservative in tone. The quasi-parochial politics of British North America had been united in one great federation, and the first Ministry had been the active promoters of that enterprise and had carried it to a successful issue. Manitoba had entered the Union in 1870, British Columbia a year later, and at the beginning of the 1873 Session, strong hopes were entertained that the little Colony of Prince Edward Island would link her fortunes with Canada before the close of the year. These hopes were realised, and in July 1873 Prince Edward Island became a part of the Dominion. The conversion of Nova Scotia from a passionate opponent of confederation into one of its most loyal supporters, and his success in inducing Columbia to link her fortunes with the confederated provinces, had been Sir John Macdonald's crowning successes.

Parliament opened on March 5th, and in the speech from the Throne (read first in English and then in French), the Governor-General referred to the very promising aspect of the country's prospects, especially in the consolidation of her political unity and the development of her resources. He announced the grant to a body of Canadian capitalists of a charter for the construction of the Pacific Railway, and made mention of the progress of

plans for the construction of those various canals which play so vital a part in the distribution of Canada's trade.

Among these and other projects, administrative and legislative, the Pacific Railway naturally claimed prominent attention. When British Columbia, in 1871, joined the Confederacy, one of her principal conditions was that within ten years a railway should be built, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and shortly before Lord Dufferin met his Parliament, the charter referred to in the speech had been granted to the company which, after much negotiation, had been preferred to two rival railway corporations. Sir H. Allan was president of the company, the Board was selected from the various provinces of the Dominion and comprised men of the highest respectability, enterprise and wealth. The capital was fixed at ten million dollars, allotted in various proportions to Ontario, Quebec, and the other provinces, and a large subsidy of thirty millions was granted, as well as fifty millions of acres in alternate blocks along the line. No foreign capital was to be employed in the construction of the railway. As Sir George Cartier, descendant of the famous French pioneer of Canadian exploration, bluntly remarked more than once, "Aussi longtemps que je vivrai et que je serai dans le Ministère, jamais une sacrée Compagnie Américaine aura le control du Pacifique, et je résignerai ma place de Ministre plutôt que d'y consentir."

On April 2nd, however, a storm burst over the House. Mr. L. S. Huntington, a prominent member of the Opposition, rose in his place and, reading from a paper in his hand, announced that he was credibly informed, and believed he could establish by satisfactory evidence, that an agreement had been made between Sir Hugh Allan and an American gentleman—Mr. G. W. McMullen, representing certain American capitalists, for the construction of the Pacific Railroad, the scheme being ostensibly that of a Canadian company with Sir Hugh Allan at its head. The speaker added that subsequently arrangements were made between the Government and Sir Hugh Allan by which a large sum of money was paid by the latter and his friends, to aid the election of Ministers and their friends at the General Election.

Mr. Huntington's sensational *coup* in the House met with a chilling silence. He brought grave charges against a popular Ministry, and after reading his resolutions, not a tittle of corroborative evidence had been adduced. His manner was unconvincing and not over-confident. If he had calculated on a heated debate with inevitable revelations, he was entirely disappointed. As soon as he sat down every eye was turned first on the Prime Minister, and then on his assailant. Sir John Macdonald, however, never moved a muscle. The motion had been made and seconded, but no debate ensued, and being

put to the House, was negatived by a majority of thirty-one.

But the Government were in no way inclined to shirk the challenge, and on the very next day Sir John Macdonald gave notice of a motion with a view to a searching inquiry, and following thereon a Select Committee of five was appointed to inquire and report into Mr. Huntington's allegations. As, however, any student of English constitutional history could have foreseen, an inquiry of this sort was futile without power to compel sworn testimony, and an "Oaths Bill" was duly introduced into the Commons, and having passed the Senate, received the assent of the Queen's representative. It was, though, a notoriously moot point whether the Commons had power to pass such a Bill, and though Lord Dufferin, in giving his assent, had relied on the best procurable advice, this important, though purely legal question had to be reserved for the judgment of the Home Government.

In the meantime, two of the most important witnesses, Sir George Cartier and the Hon. J. J. C. Abbott, were away in England, and in view of this the Committee resolved to adjourn for a couple of months, until July 2nd, "if Parliament should then be in Session," and the House of Commons endorsed this decision. Arrangements were thereupon made that the prorogation of Parliament should take place on August 13th. Lord and Lady Dufferin then proceeded to Quebec

and there made preparations for a contemplated tour through the Maritime Provinces.[1]

On June 27th, the Viceroy received a telegram from the Secretary of State (Lord Kimberley) that the Oaths Bill had been disallowed. The Law Officers of the Crown at home had taken much the same ground as Sir John Macdonald had, that under the 18th Section of the British North America Act of 1867, the Canadian Parliament were not able to vest in themselves the power to administer oaths, as that was a power which the House of Commons did not possess in 1867 when the Imperial Act was passed.

On receipt of this disabling cablegram a public proclamation to the effect was duly issued by the Governor-General. It was urgently necessary that something should be done, for in a few days the Committee were to assemble. To meet the difficulty it was arranged between his Excellency and Sir John Macdonald that a Royal Commission

[1] See *infra*, p. 100. Lady Dufferin had given birth to a daughter on May 17th at Ottawa, and it had been arranged that the christening should take place at the Anglican Cathedral, Quebec. Her Majesty the Queen had graciously intimated her wish to be godmother, and the child was named "Victoria Alexandrina." The ceremony took place in the presence of a brilliant crowd, Lady Dufferin standing proxy for the Queen, Lady Harriet Fletcher being godmother, and Sir John Macdonald, godfather. Her Majesty had sent, as a present to her godchild, a beautiful locket of fine dull gold, with a raised medallion portrait of herself in the centre, enclosed in a circle of brilliants, and surrounded by an outer border in which pink coral bosses were relieved by diamond and pearl settings. From the locket depended five drops of coral. On the reverse was the inscription, "To Lady Victoria Blackwood, from her godmother, Victoria R., 1873." Lady Victoria is now married to Lord Plunket.

should issue to the Committee, that body being thereby invested with a sort of duplicate character and function. Two opposition members of the Committee, however, declined to serve or sit as members of a Commission appointed by the Executive, and in these circumstances it became necessary to adjourn until August 13th, the day fixed for the prorogation.

The delay was in a way unfortunate for the Government, for it gave an opening to the Huntington party to develop their line of attack. On July 4th, the *Montreal Herald* published a long series of copies of letters from Sir Hugh Allan, containing details of the negotiations, which had taken place between him and Mr. McMullen. These testified *primâ facie* to the substantial character of the Huntington charges, and created an undoubted sensation throughout the country, though Sir Hugh Allan promptly countered the attack with a detailed statement, in which, amongst other things, he specifically denied that "any money had ever been paid to members of the Government, or was received by them, or on their behalf, directly or indirectly, as a consideration in any form for any advantage to me (Sir H. A.) in connection with the Pacific Railway Contract." Mr. McMullen being thus driven to bay, retaliated with another statement, purporting to show, and, indeed, proving that several members of the Government had accepted large sums of money from him "for election purposes." This could

have little other meaning than the bribing of the Canadian constituencies. At the same time, though McMullen was in a measure successful in giving colour to his charges, he showed himself to be little else than a common blackmailer, both in his relations with Sir Hugh Allan, and the contractor.

On the eventful August 13th, Lord Dufferin returned from his tour of the Maritime Provinces to Ottawa, and was promptly waited on by the Premier. A deputation of the Opposition also approached him with a memorial signed by ninety of their number, praying his Excellency not to prorogue Parliament until the charges against ministers had been fully inquired into. This, however, the Governor-General refused to do on the ground that this would involve the dismissal from his counsels of his constitutional advisers; that it was impossible for him to place himself in direct communication with the Parliament of the Dominion; that there was no guarantee they would endorse the prayer of the deputation; and that the signatories to the memorial were not a moiety of the House. (As a matter of fact, they were ten short). Lord Dufferin added in conclusion that he had decided to issue a Royal Commission of three gentlemen of legal standing, character, and authority, and that on conclusion of their labours Parliament should reassemble.[1]

When the two Houses met at 3.30, the scene in

[1] See below, p. 98.

the Commons was a strange contrast to that in the Senate. While the Governor-General was enthroned in all his dignity in the Upper House, calmly awaiting the arrival of the Speaker and members to assist at the ceremony of prorogation, a babel of vociferation was raging through the Lower chamber, owing to the efforts of Mr. Mackenzie (the leader of the Opposition) to make and establish his protest against prorogation. Eventually the Usher of the Black Rod was admitted, and allowed to deliver his message summoning members to the Senate, and the Speaker, followed by most of the ministerialists (for the Opposition signatories to the memorial refused to leave their seats) repaired to the Senate, and Parliament was then and there prorogued till October 23rd.

An indignation meeting of the Opposition was subsequently held in the Railway Committee Room, and after some able and bitter speeches, resolutions were passed protesting against the prorogation and the appointment of the Commission, as a gross violation of the rights, privileges, and independence of Parliament.[1]

A Commission, however, was duly issued to Judge Day, Judge Polette, and Judge Gowan, to inquire into the whole matter and to report thereon. These judges had been long removed from active political

[1] Lord Dufferin's despatch to Lord Kimberley dated two days later, August 15th, 1873, No. 197, gave a most exhaustive and able review of the whole situation.

life, and were so freed from any suspicion of partisanship. The sittings took place at Ottawa, and were open to the public. Some of the principal witnesses were unfortunately conspicuous by their absence, notably Mr. Huntington (the prime mover in the affair), Senator Foster, and Messrs. C. M. Smith and McMullen, of Chicago. Nevertheless thirty-six witnesses did come forward and the clear upshot of their testimony was to prove that Sir John Macdonald had accepted money from a Government contractor, which money had gone a great distance in furthering the elections on the Government side.

Parliament reassembled on October 23rd, 1873, and on the 27th instant, on the presentation of the Report of the Commission, a memorable debate ensued. Mr. Mackenzie moved a vote of severe censure against his Excellency's advisers, in a clever, vigorous and manly speech, and was followed by others whose speeches were also characterised by conspicuous ability. Sir John Macdonald did not address the House till the sixth day[1], and then delivered a masterly oration which lasted four or five hours, and was marked by all the speaker's noted characteristics and talent. But by this time the tide was beginning to turn. The Premier, who at the outset was confident of a majority,

[1] In the interval the Premier appears to have been solacing himself with distractions of a more refreshing and exhilarating character than any mumbling of the dry bones of politics. Sir John's amiable failing is described, laughably enough, but in the very plainest terms, in Sir M. E. Grant Duff's "Notes of a Diary," Vol. ii., p. 166.

saw his supporters melt away from his side and himself left in a minority. He therefore tendered his resignation and that of his colleagues, which his Excellency accepted, and with this announcement the debate was brought to an abrupt close. Mr. Mackenzie was sent for, and in a few days succeeded in forming a new Government.

Thus ended this exciting Session, the result of which was to depose from office the ablest statesman Canada had yet produced. He had done valuable service to the Crown in the negotiations with the United States, and had been the prime agent in the grand task of Confederation. Through his tact Nova Scotia had been quieted, and New Brunswick satisfied, while he was mainly instrumental in the incorporation of Prince Edward Island, and the rich province of British Columbia within the Dominion. For the space of a generation Sir John Macdonald had dispensed patronage and wielded the influential power of a minister without incurring a vestige of reproach, and while he had raised numbers to posts of honour and wealth, he had taken no thought for his own old age. This man, as Mr. Leggo fairly observes, "was compelled to bend to the verdict of the Canadians, when they reluctantly declared him guilty of an act, as to which much may be said in extenuation—in justification, nothing." Bribery was unhappily a very common vice, both on the Liberal and Conservative side, and, as a matter of fact, neither party came into court with clean

hands. The ramifications of the political organisations were enormous, and the impropriety of the electoral expenditure had come to be looked upon as almost venial. In England, as Sir John pointedly remarked, this sort of party outlay was managed by the Carlton Club for the Conservatives, and for the Liberals by the Reform Club. In Canada there were no analogous organisations, and when subscriptions came in they were sent to the leader of the party. Sir John Macdonald distributed the money all over the kingdom, and even so independent a politican as Mr. Goldwin Smith declared that he felt satisfied that not one cent of illicit gain went to Sir John personally. Without exculpating the Canadian Premier, it may be confidently averred that neither of the great political parties in Canada was entitled to cast stones at the other, in respect of expenditure of this character, and the dignity with which Sir John received the verdict did much to enhance him in the public regard.

We may here revert to the viceregal tour through the Maritime Provinces, commenced in the previous June. On June 21st, their Excellencies embarked on the *Druid*, which had been specially fitted up, and steaming for the lower St. Lawrence enjoyed some excellent salmon fishing in its lower tributaries.

Travellers in Canada are familiar with the form of the noble red man, though the sorry specimens I was fortunate to come across at wayside stations of

Photo by] [*Canadian Pacific Railway Company.*

A CANADIAN LAKE.

[*To face p.* 100.

the "Canadian Pacific" were in sooth curiously lacking in nobility. Still the life of these aborigines is very interesting, and on several occasions the Dufferins made a point of visiting them in their primitive homes.

At Mingan, opposite Anticosti at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, the Indian settlement boasts a neat chapel, surrounded by the wigwams and flanked by some houses belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company. A priest visits these out-of-the-way stations, and he happened to be there when the Viceroy was exploring the place in his yacht. The Indians trooping into chapel formed a picturesque sight, the women dressed in gaudy colours with pointed cloth caps of red and black. The squaws squatted on one side and the men on the other, and they sang a Canticle—the women one verse and the men the next, the music was a melancholy wail with very few notes and the voices of the singers were thin and weak, but it was interesting and curious.

The Priest dined with the Dufferins. Poor man! his lot seems to have been a hard one. He was going up to visit some Esquimaux, and being a shocking bad sailor was contemplating his three weeks' cruise in a small schooner with anything but glee. He said that on the previous Saturday he had scarcely anything to eat, the Indians having nothing to give him. The huts were here made of poles very lightly covered with birch bark, and in each tent seven or eight families lived! In

his yearly visits to these Indians the priest arranges all of a suitable age in couples and marries them, there is a total absence of love making. They are very moral—drink (when they can get it) and laziness being their only vices.

Once a year there is a great Indian meeting at a place called Bersimis and most of the marriages take place then. The Chief had on a black frock-coat ornamented with epaulets, and addressed Lord Dufferin as "Brother." He accosted one of the Royal Princes, when they were on tour, in the same way, and then showed him a royal medal he wore on his breast, saying "Ta mère: tu connais?"

While enjoying the sport up the Mingan one of the footmen was unfortunately drowned. He had taken up his post on the rocky margin of a pool to fish, and the steward said to him, "Can you swim?" "No." "Then take care for it is slippery, and the water is very deep." "Never fear" was the reply of the poor fellow, who instantly slipped. He put up his hands to take a mosquito veil he had on, and disappeared. The steward dived after him, but the other never rose at all. It was not till a boat was procured that they eventually recovered the body. The man had gone straight down in an erect position, with the rod fixed tight in his hands. The sequel of the story is very strange. Eleven days afterwards there arrived a letter for the man-servant, from a servant girl in Ottawa, to whom he was attached, dated exactly

seven days after the accident. In it she said, "I have been in my new place a week, and I like it very much, but I had such a dreadful dream on the day of my arrival. I dreamt that you and Nowell (the steward) were upset in a boat together, and that Nowell was saved but you were drowned." As the spot where the accident really did occur is in an uninhabited region on the Labrador Coast, several hundreds of miles distant from Ottawa, without either telegraphs or posts, it was impossible for the news to have reached her when the letter was written. It is only one more of those curious intimations, by no means so very unfrequent, which can hardly be accounted for on any but psychological grounds.

The Viceroy and party next went across the gulf St. Lawrence on to Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, where he was received by the Lieutenant-Governor and Mrs. Robinson. The climate was pronounced to be just like that of England, for everybody promptly got colds. It was the first visit of a Governor-General since the incorporation of the Island into the Dominion. Nova Scotia was the next halting place, and here the Viceroy, anxious to inspect the coal measures which form so important an Acadian product, descended a mine in a miner's dress, and taking a pick from one of the miners cut away a block of coal weighing nearly half a ton, to the huge delight of the Picton pitmen.

Halifax was reached on July 28th, and on the

next day but one[1] the landing at the dockyard was made with all the normal ceremony.

Nova Scotia was at that time a little restless. They looked upon confederation as a yoke forced upon them without their leave, and a substantial proportion of the population were still clamouring for repeal, though six years had elapsed. The Pacific Railway scandal had still further embittered the situation, and feeling ran high—the people themselves being at sixes and sevens. The Governor-General of Canada could hardly be described as a *persona gratissima* in those trying circumstances. For Lord Dufferin personally they had the highest respect; but in his representative and official capacity he was altogether a different personage. However, good feeling and judgment did not mar the friendly reception accorded to him.

The turning point of the visit was however marked by the speech at the Halifax Club. The Government press had been already announcing in a seemingly inspired way what the Governor-General's views and probable line of action were. This was, of course, quite gratuitous and unauthorised, and Lord Dufferin, feeling that his name was improperly dragged into the controversy, took this opportunity of putting the facts in the right light. At the dinner his Excellency's health was proposed by Sir William Young, the Chief Justice, with an eloquence, directness, and yet happy tact,

[1] Exactly thirteen years before, King Edward VII., then Prince of Wales, had landed there.

which seem to have inspired an equally manly and felicitous reply. His Excellency emphatically declared that he understood his duty too well to allow his judgment or his sympathies to be surprised into political partisanship, and that no human being was authorised to state or suggest what the Viceroy's opinions were. He continued: "My only guiding star in the conduct and maintenance of my official relations with your public men is the Parliament of Canada—in fact, I suppose I am the only person in the Dominion whose faith in the wisdom and in the infallibility of Parliament is never shaken (great laughter). Each of you, gentlemen, only believe in Parliament so long as Parliament votes according to your wishes and convictions. I, gentlemen, believe in Parliament no matter which way it votes."

CHAPTER VI

THE GOVERNOR-GENERALSHIP OF CANADA
(*continued*)

THE MACKENZIE GOVERNMENT—RIEL CASE—CARNARVON TERMS AS TO RAILWAY—VISIT OF THE DUFFERINS TO ENGLAND—CLANDEBOYE—THIRD PARLIAMENTARY SESSION—BRITISH COLUMBIAN TOUR

THE General Election of 1874 resulted in a triumph for the Reforming party, and Mr. Mackenzie and his colleagues found themselves at the head of a substantial majority. The speech from the Throne delivered by Lord Dufferin on March 26th, made promises, *inter alia*, that Parliament would be invited to consider the speediest means of communication with British Columbia. One exciting incident, however, was connected with the return to Parliament of Louis Riel—the notorious rebel—for Provencher in Manitoba. This person managed to take the oath, and writing his name in the book by a subterfuge, had hurried away before his presence in the city became known. He was a fugitive from justice for his murder of Scott on March 4th, 1870, and he ought to have been arrested in Ottawa, but

seemingly there was some hesitation on the part of the Executive. On the motion of Mr. Mackenzie Bowell, Louis Riel was expelled from the House of Commons, and though he was returned later on by his constituency, he was never allowed to take his seat.

Other points of the greatest importance awaited Mr. Mackenzie's attention. He was very different from Sir J. Macdonald, being formal and cold in manner and disposed to say very little, but to try and do much. The Pacific Railway was a question demanding speedy treatment, for two and a half years out of the ten had already passed and practically no progress had been achieved. In February Mr. Mackenzie being desirous of ascertaining the local feeling on the subject, despatched a special envoy to British Columbia in the person of Mr. James D. Edgar. Small as the white population of the province was (at that time it was little more than ten thousand souls), there was intense interest in the project, as better communication with the East meant everything for a community cut off from their fellow countrymen under the Dominion by hundreds of miles of the Rockies. But though negotiations took place, no tangible result ensued, and Mr. Edgar was recalled by the Canadian Government. It was then decided by the authorities of British Columbia to depute Mr. Walkem, their Premier, to repair to England and lay their case before Lord Carnarvon, the Secretary of State, who had been invited by both

the Dominion and Provincial Governments to arbitrate in the dispute. It was not till November 17th, that Lord Carnarvon was enabled to formulate his views. They were to the following effect :—

1. That the railway on Vancouver Island from Esquimalt to Nanaimo (a coal producing centre), should be commenced and completed as soon as possible.

2. That the surveys for the great railway should be pushed on as rapidly as possible.

3. That both the waggon road and telegraph line (along the Pacific railway route) should be immediately constructed *pari passu*.

4. That two million dollars per annum should be the minimum expenditure on railway work within the province.

5. Lastly, that on or before December 31st, 1890, the railway should be completed and open for traffic from the Pacific sea-board to the western end of Lake Superior, where it would fall into connection with existing lines of the United States Railway, and also with the navigation in Canadian waters.

This decision, generally known as the "Carnarvon Terms" was accepted by both Governments, and it only remained to provide the necessary legislation to carry the terms into effect. We resume the history of this important matter later on.

On February 4th, in that year, the second Session of the Third Parliament of the Dominion was opened. The Governor-General's speech from the Throne referred to his Excellency's tour, which

had enabled him better to grasp the comparative proportions of settled and undeveloped country, and to witness enterprise, contentment, and loyalty in every quarter. Gratifying progress had been made in the survey of the Pacific Railway route, and papers were also promised on the subject of the North-West Territories troubles.

This last-mentioned matter, which for three years had agitated the Dominion and embarrassed successive Governments, was the first to demand attention. It may be briefly here recalled[1] what the origin of these troubles was. When the north-west country was first ceded by the Crown to Canada, it became necessary in 1869 for portions of the country to be marked out into townships and lots. Unfortunately, the overbearing and injudicious behaviour of some of the surveying parties, and the failure to explain the situation, aroused the fears of some settlers and provoked the anger of others. The French and half-breeds banded together and organized a rebellion in which John Bruce was the nominal president, though Louis Riel—a shrewd young French Canadian—and his lieutenant, Ambrose Lepine, were the moving spirits. The most ridiculous stories of oppression were invented to play upon the fears and superstitions of the settlers, and a hostile force was got together to oppose the advent of the first Lieutenant-Governor. Fort Garry was occupied

[1] Lord Dufferin's exhaustive despatch to Lord Carnarvon was dated December 10th, 1874.

by Riel, and though Mr. Donald Smith (now Lord Strathcona) was allowed, as Special Commissioner, to explain the views of the Canadian Government, his advice was not followed. While Archbishop Taché was hurrying to the scene from an Œcumenical Council at Rome, the lawless proceedings of Riel and his associates were brought to a climax by the cold-blooded murder of a man named Thomas Scott,[1] who had been on bad terms with Riel. Priests and influential citizens interceded with the leader, but all in vain, and the victim was despatched, without the semblance of a trial, by the bullets of half-a-dozen intoxicated half-breeds, told off for the fell purpose.

Five days later the Archbishop arrived at the Red River. The excitement was intense and the situation perilous. He went so far as to promise an amnesty on condition the rebels laid down their arms. The insurgents then yielded and prepared to send their delegates to Ottawa. Great anxiety, however, still prevailed, as Sir Garnet Wolseley's expedition was pressing forward, and there was manifesting itself an uneasy feeling that as the prerogative of mercy could only rest with the Queen or her viceregent, the promise of an amnesty lay beyond the powers of either the Archbishop or the Dominion Government. Eventually this difficult point was referred to England. Lord Kimberley recorded the opinion of her Majesty's Government that the best course would be for an amnesty to be granted for all

[1] See page 106.

offences committed during the disturbance at Red River in 1869-70, except the murder of Scott. In reply to this, the Archbishop stoutly contended that both the Imperial and the Colonial Governments were bound by the promise of immunity he gave to Riel and his band. On the other hand, Lord Lisgar, the Home Government, and the Macdonald Ministry, refused to recognise the force of any such obligation.

Matters were, then, at a virtual deadlock when Mr. Mackenzie took office. Riel having evaded the officers of the law had never been brought to trial. On his return to Parliament as member for Provencher, he proceeded to Ottawa at the opening of the Session in May, 1874, and took the oaths, but the public excitement being so great, and his life in danger, he left secretly, and never reappeared. He was subsequently outlawed. Lepine was arrested, tried at the Assize Court at Winnipeg, and found guilty on October 10th, 1874, of the murder of Scott. This sentence, after exchange of correspondence between the Governor-General and the Secretary of State, was commuted to two years imprisonment with permanent forfeiture of political rights. In taking this important step, the former acted on his own responsibility under the Royal Instructions, which authorise the Governor-General, in certain capital cases, to dispense with the advice of his Ministers. It was a strong line to take, but the case was one of the greatest difficulty, and while Lord

Dufferin made up his mind to act thus, it is only fair to mention that his despatch, announcing what he proposed to do (which has been described as probably the best State paper he ever penned), met with the complete approval of the Secretary of State.

The case, however, neither escaped criticism nor passed unchallenged. Sir John Macdonald expressed the difficulty very shortly when he said: "If this be proper, a man may be hanged in Canada without any one being responsible for it." At the same time Sir John never carried his objection any further. In England the matter was brought up, as a grave constitutional question, in the House of Lords on April 16th, 1875. A somewhat analogous case had arisen in New South Wales, where, however, it had been held that the Governor was more bound by the advice of his Ministers, in the exercise of the prerogative of mercy. Nevertheless, the trend of the debate in the House of Lords was to extend a general and very encouraging approval of Lord Dufferin's action.

The Session of 1875 was short, closing on April 8th. With the exception of the matters already mentioned, its work was not very important. There were few points of antagonism to divide the parties and the Government was very strong. At the same time Sir John Macdonald exhibited much forbearance and consideration in supporting and helping the Government in the

Supreme Court Bill—a difficult piece of legislation —and other controversial questions.

From the time of the return of their Excellencies from their tour in Ontario to the end of the Session, their sojourn in Ottawa was marked by a brilliant series of entertainments. Balls, concerts, skating parties, curling parties (Lord Dufferin was ever an enthusiastic "bonspieler"), tobogganing and other diversions followed in pleasing succession, and at the "At Homes" at Rideau Hall the high officials, the legal and ecclesiastical dignitaries, senators, and members of Parliament, and others of official and social position, were conspicuous among the guests who flocked so eagerly to enjoy their Excellencies' hospitality.

On May 11th, 1875, Lord and Lady Dufferin left Ottawa on a visit home. It was a private visit but was marked by some notable functions, conspicuous among them being a dinner to the Viceroy given by the Canada Club at the Albion, on July 8th, 1875. Mr. G. T. Brooking was in the chair, and among the guests were the Duke of Manchester, the Earl of Kimberley, Lord Lisgar, Mr. W. H. Smith, M.P., Mr. Goschen, M.P., Mr. Childers, M.P., Sir Clinton Murdoch, Viscount Bury, Sir F. Hincks, and many other distinguished public men. Mr. W. H. Smith in returning thanks for the House of Commons, referred to the general anxiety which prevailed not only to maintain the unity and greatness of

the British Empire, but at the same time to recognise to the fullest measure the Colonial right of self-government.

Lord Dufferin—it is almost needless to say—made an eloquent speech in reply. But it was something more than this. He took the opportunity to dwell on the strong, "tender, and almost yearning love for the Mother Country" possessed by the Canadians, "their jealous pride of their legislative autonomy," and their patriotic devotion to their own land. "The sights and sounds which caressed the senses of the Trojan wanderer in Dido's Carthage, are repeated and multiplied in a thousand different localities in Canada, where flourishing cities, towns, and villages are rising in every direction, with the rapidity of a fairy tale."

The speaker went on to pay a strong and complimentary encomium to the loyalty and ability of the French Canadians, who he declared were "more parliamentary" even than their English brothers. And "whatever might be the case elsewhere, in Canada, at all events, the French race had learnt the golden rule of moderation, and the necessity of arriving at practical results by the occasional sacrifice of logical symmetry, and the settlement of disputes in the spirit of a generous compromise."

With regard to the relations between Canada and the United States he was very emphatic. "The fate of Canada has been unalterably fixed and determined, and she is destined to move within her own separate and individual orbit. So

far from regarding this with jealousy, the public of the United States contemplate with a generous enthusiasm the daily progress of Canada's prosperous career. In fact, they are wise enough to understand that it is infinitely to the advantage of the human race that the depressing monotony of political thought in the American Continent should be varied and enlivened by the development of a political system akin to, yet diverse from, their own, productive of a friendly emulation, and offering many points of contrast and comparison, which they already begin to feel they can study with advantage."

The stirring address from which I have ventured to extract these fragments seems to me to exhibit some of Lord Dufferin's most notable characteristics as an orator and statesman. It is easy to indulge in the optimistic language which abounds in after-dinner speeches; but it is not so easy to comment on the foibles of a friendly neighbour without giving cause for a vestige of offence. While laying deserved stress on the capacity for progress shown by the French Canadians, he did not hesitate to utter a passing warning, and allude to the occasional lack of moderation, and the excessive and unpractical insistence on rigidly logical solutions of public questions displayed by their elder brethren in the European Continent. Similarly, while rejoicing over the then growing *rapprochement* between Canada and the States, he was not afraid of noting the "depressing monotony of political

thought" in the Western Continent. Mr. Gladstone possessed the gift of handling difficult topics in masterly diction, but he never seemed to me "to hit the centre of the note"—to adopt a musical analogy—with quite the fearlessness, and withal, the delicacy of touch manifested by Lord Dufferin.

Mr. William Leggo, in his interesting and thoughtful work, says that Canadians had been somewhat mortified to find that their ardent love of their Mother Country had been but coldly reciprocated by many of the leading minds of England. This feeling, however, had been modified by the Toronto speech referred to above, and by Lord Dufferin's subsequent orations.

> The Canada Club address, however, took people by storm. The sound of his voice from Toronto fell with a mellowed cadence on the distant shores of Britain, but his manly, firm and dignified exultation in being the ruler of so magnificent a domain as Canada, expressed in this speech (at the Albion), passed like an electric shock through the British heart. His words were uttered in the very centre of British power, in the presence of the leading men of the Empire. He stood face to face with the rulers of the greatest country in existence, and in words of burning eloquence thundered into their ears that in the Dominion of Canada they possessed a child, splendid in beauty, and marvellous in physical and intellectual strength, whom they might be proud to exhibit to the nations of the world.

On July 28th, 1875, their Excellencies arrived at Belfast, and thence proceeded by train on their way to Clandeboye. A numerous deputation of

the tenantry was in attendance, and in his reply to their address Lord Dufferin made mention that among numerous countrymen of his whom he met in Canada, the most prosperous, contented, and fortunate were those who had been connected with the County Down. Near Fredericton, the Capital of New Brunswick, the owner of a flourishing estate had built a village, a magnificent church, a school-house and a mansion almost as large and as splendid as Clandeboye.

The owner had taken a lease from the Government of two or three hundred thousand acres of forest; he had cut down the trees, made dams, constructed weirs, he had cleared the country and had created, I might say, a large extent of arable land and, *pari passu*, with his increasing prosperity he had devoted his wealth and intelligence to promote the happiness of those to whose labour and industry he was so much indebted for his own advancement. He was very glad to receive me, and introduced me to his mother, and I then found that this good old lady had originally come from Clandeboye; that this gentleman himself had been, I believe, a tenant of my neighbour Mr. Sharman Crawford, and I spent an hour with them giving an account of their grand-nieces, grand-nephews, and their various other relations.

Again, on the waters of Lake Superior a sort of miniature Venice had been built in piles, for the purpose of excavating a silver mine beneath the waters of the lake, and he was glad to find a Killyleagh[1] man installed as head of this amphibious but healthy enterprise.

[1] Lady Dufferin's home in County Down.

In October, after a short but much appreciated stay at Clandeboye, Lord and Lady Dufferin returned to Canada in the *Prussian*, the same steamer in which, three years before, they had set out for their home in the West. Little of note occurred during the remainder of the year beyond the formation of the Supreme Court of the Dominion, the Hon. W. B. Richards (subsequently knighted) being the first Chief Justice. This gave an opportunity to the Viceroy to entertain the judges at dinner at Government House. Departing from his usual custom, which was to confine the toasts to that of the Queen, he took the occasion to propose in addition the health of the Chief Justice and the other judges, coupling with it some felicitous remarks on the degree of development and the stage of progress which had called the Supreme Court into being, and the authority and respect which a great court gained amongst enlightened communities even beyond its sphere of action, quoting as an instance, the respect and deference with which the dicta of the Chief Court of the United States was quoted by British and European jurists.

The third Session of the Third Parliament of Canada opened on February 10th, 1876, with more *éclat* than usual. Among other distinguished personages the Judges of the Supreme Court attended in their new robes, similar to those worn by the Supreme Judges of England—scarlet trimmed with ermine, a costume which had been selected at the

Photo by] [*Canadian Pacific Railway Company.*

PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, OTTAWA.

[*To face p.* 118.

particular recommendation of his Excellency. Amid a legislative programme of considerable variety, the depressed state of trade attracted some anxiety, and it was announced that curtailment of expenditure would be necessary. The provinces, with the exception of British Columbia, whose dissatisfaction at the long pending Pacific Railway controversy was just coming to a head, were contented. The Session was dull, but social life in Ottawa was briskly relieved by a series of entertainments at Rideau Hall, conspicuous among which was a fancy dress ball on February 23rd, to which fifteen hundred invitations were issued. The skill of Paris, London, New York and Boston were invoked for the occasion, and the result was an entertainment which far surpassed anything of the kind previously seen in North America. It was also a pleasant social success in bringing together the best families of the Dominion, who were nearly all present in Ottawa, the Parliamentary Session being in full swing. The London *Standard* was enthusiastic over this function, in its praise of the cheery way that Lord Dufferin showed he could play as well as work.

The Queen's birthday was marked by the grant of the dignity of the Grand Cross of the Order of Saint Michael and Saint George to Lord Dufferin, in consideration of his public services, and a few weeks later their Excellencies repaired to Quebec. Here a complimentary dinner was given to them by the Mayor and citizens of Quebec.

The reply of Lord Dufferin was happily inspired. He opened with a stirring recall of the perils and vicissitudes through which Quebec passed in the three eventful centuries that had elapsed since her foundation. He dwelt on the interest and romance attaching to her old battlements and her "crown of towers," and thus led up to the plan then afoot for embellishing and improving these structures, making prominent reference to the grant provided in the Imperial estimates, for a monument to the joint memory of Wolfe and Montcalm, but reserving to the end the quite unexpected announcement that the Queen had desired that she might be specially and personally associated with the work, by presenting her good city of Quebec with one of the new gateways with which the *enceinte* was to be pierced, and for the erection of which her Majesty had forwarded to her representative a handsome subscription. The Queen also desired that the gateway might be named after her father, the Duke of Kent, in grateful recollection of the pleasant days he had passed in that city. The news came as the pleasantest shock of surprise; the company rose *en masse* and remained cheering for some minutes.

A circumstantial account of the improvements proposed and sanctioned appeared in the Quebec *Morning Chronicle* of November 22nd, 1875. They have since been carried out with the assistance of the Dominion Government, and have adorned what is probably the most dignified and

interesting, as it is undeniably the most historically distinguished city of the American continent.

It will, however, be easily understood from what has been said that placid euphemisms were far from being the sole or even normal feature of Lord Dufferin's addresses. To the Female Normal School at Quebec he took the opportunity of expressing his and Lady Dufferin's warm interest in the education of girls; but speaking of the refining influence which womanhood exercises on a nation, he laid his finger on the "vulgar solecism" of alluding to ladies of position, who might chance to be spoken of in newspapers, by their Christian names, or such pet appellation as might fitly be applied to them in the privacy of the home circle. He instanced the case of Miss Grant, "the daughter of the occupant of one of the most august positions in the world, who was generally referred to in the newspaper as 'Nellie,' as though the paragraphist who wrote the item, had been her playfellow from infancy." It is only fair to mention that the rebuke of the practice was taken in good part by the *New York World* among other journals, who further animadverted strongly on the vulgarity of adding diminutives like "ie" to almost every lady's name. As one writer remarked, "Fancy 'Bessie' Browning writing 'Casa Guidi Windows' and 'Aurora Leigh,' or 'Flo' Nightingale furthering her mission of mercy at Scutari!"

The great Viceregal visit to British Columbia commenced in July 1876. In these days such

a journey is simplicity itself, thanks to the Canadian Pacific Railway, whose massive engines and lengthy trains convey you so swiftly and directly from the Atlantic to the Pacific. A quarter of a century ago a formidable *détour* had to be made by way of Chicago, the Rocky Mountains and San Francisco, and on quitting the terminus of the Union Pacific Railway, H.M.S. *Amethyst* conveyed them for a distance of seven hundred and sixty miles to Esquimalt Harbour. The reception was here most enthusiastic. Sir James Douglas, the first Governor of Vancouver Island, with a Committee and a guard of honour welcomed their Excellencies, and the party drove off to Victoria. Here decoration was profuse and ubiquitous: flags, streamers, and bunting were flying from all the public buildings and many private houses, and numerous triumphal arches spanned the streets, some of them erected by the Chinese inhabitants. The all-absorbing theme of the railway was in evidence on many of the mottoes emblazoned on the arches, "United without Union," "Confederated without Confederation," "Railroad the bond of Union," "Psalm xv. verses 5 to 7," [1] "Our Railway iron rusts," and "British Columbia the key to the Pacific"—all displayed the general earnestness and solidarity on the great pending question.

[1] "He that sweareth unto his neighbour, and disappointeth him not, though it were to his own hindrance. He that hath not given his money upon usury, nor taketh reward against the innocent. Whoso doeth these things shall never fall."

The framers of one motto, however, had allowed their political feelings to get the better of their judgment. While the procession was moving through the principal streets, a gentleman, breathless with excitement, hurried up to his Excellency's carriage to say a "rebel" arch had been placed across the road so as to identify the Viceroy with approval of the disloyal inscription thereon.

"Can you tell me what words there are on the arch?" quietly asked his lordship.

"Oh, yes," replied his informant, "they are 'Carnarvon Terms or Separation.'"

"Send the Committee to me," said his Excellency.

"Now, gentlemen," resumed Lord Dufferin, with a smile, "I'll go under your beautiful arch on one condition. I won't ask you to do much, and I beg but a trifling favour. I only ask that you allow me to suggest a slight change in the phrase which you have set up. I merely ask that you alter one letter in your motto. Turn the S into an R—make it Carnarvon Terms or Reparation, and I will gladly pass under it."

To this, however, the Committee foolishly would not agree, so the Viceregal party turned a corner and went down another street, to the surprise and mortification of those who had made so unwise an exhibition of themselves.

But the feeling which had given rise to this open expression of opinion was not allayed. On August 21st, a deputation appointed at a public meeting of citizens held before the Governor-

General's arrival, waited on his Excellency to present an address. The gist of the complaint was that the Dominion Government had "ignored" the Carnarvon settlement, that this had produced a wide-spread feeling of dissatisfaction towards Confederation, and that if the Dominion failed to carry out their side of the bargain, the withdrawal of British Columbia from the Confederation would be the inevitable result.

It was, of course, impossible for the Governor-General to receive an address containing anything like a threat of secession, and this was privately explained to the deputation. But the mere fact that such a resolution had been adopted at a public meeting of men of the highest standing in the province, was enough to create a good deal of anxiety in Lord Dufferin's mind, and to prove that the task of mediator, which he had undertaken, was far from easy. The British Columbians, as Mr. Leggo remarks, may not have had any real intention to secede; the threat may have been a strong mode of expressing bitter disappointment, and might be likened to the threat of Nova Scotia, that she would appeal to the United States. In neither case was it serious; but it was an undoubted blot on the administration of Mr. Mackenzie, that his policy led to this discontent. It was, perhaps, difficult for those in the East to realise the feelings of those in the West, who saw millions of dollars spent on the eastern and central sections of the line and only a few surveying parties in their section.

The Governor-General took every opportunity of gaining the acquaintance of the people, and as Mr. Richards, the Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia had not yet moved into Government House, and was good enough to place it at the disposal of Lord Dufferin, there was here inaugurated a series of receptions, "At Homes," dinner parties, regattas, garden parties and balls, similar to those which had made the hospitality of Rideau Hall proverbial. The crowning event was a ball on September 18th, at which about five hundred guests were present, and which gave opportunity for complimentary testimony as to the exceptional personal beauty of the women of British Columbia—a feature attributed, rightly or wrongly it may be, to the salubrity of the climate.

Before leaving, Lord Dufferin made, on September 20th, an important address to a small but influential meeting of members of the various Committees he had seen. After describing in picturesque language some of the varied scenes of interest and beauty he had explored, he frankly pronounced British Columbia to be "a glorious province, a province which Canada should be proud to possess, and whose association with the Dominion she ought to regard as the crowning triumph of Federation." His lordship then plunged *in medias res* into the thorny topic of the railway, reviewing the main points from the beginning. The "Carnarvon Terms" were substantially those

of Mr. Mackenzie; that is to say, Mr. Mackenzie proposed the Nanaimo and Esquimalt Railway, the telegraph line, the waggon road, and the annual expenditure. All that Lord Carnarvon himself did was this: finding the parties already agreed as to the principal items of the bargain, he suggested that the proposed expenditure should be two millions instead of one and a half million, and that a time limit should be added. These further concessions were necessary to bring the province into final accord with the other side. Since then surveying parties had been organised on a most extensive and costly scale, and the entire line to the Pacific had been aligned, graded and its profile taken out, and the estimated cost of construction, though naturally very great, was less than anticipated.

With regard to the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway, Lord Dufferin explained that he had no wish to defend or hold a brief for Mr. Mackenzie. At the same time he made a most clear and manly exposition of the true facts, which were that the Bill passed the House of Commons by a large majority, but that it was the Senate who threw it out by a majority of two. This, he assured his hearers, was most disconcerting and annoying to the Premier; and Lord Dufferin effectually vindicated the good faith of Mr. Mackenzie, who had done the right thing, by way of reparation, to offer a pecuniary equivalent for the stipulation in the "Carnarvon Terms," which he had not

been able to make good. The sum offered was seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and as under the provisions of the rejected Bill the bonus to be contributed by Canada was ten thousand dollars a mile, and the total distance seventy miles, the offer was practically the bonus converted into a lump sum. Whether this was really a fair offer or not Lord Dufferin did not undertake to say authoritatively, one way or the other; but he clearly inclined to think it was, and that the complaints of its inadequacy were not quite justifiable.

As to the still more delicate matter of the "separation" threat, the Governor-General was not afraid to tackle that. He treated it as the vague and rather ill-considered talk of a small minority. It would only result in the deflection of the railway southward to New Westminster, which would become the capital of the province, while Nanaimo would become the chief town of the Island, and Vancouver Island itself would be ruled, "as Jamaica, Malta, Gibraltar, Heligoland, and Ascension are ruled, through the instrumentality of some naval or other officer." But Lord Dufferin refused to believe in such a speculative contingency, and added:

> I hope they will forgive me if I am not intimidated by their formidable representations. When some pertinacious philosopher insisted on assailing the late King of the Belgians with a rhapsody on the beauties of a Republican Government, his Majesty replied, "You forget, sir, I am a Royalist by profession." Well, a Governor-General is

a Federalist by profession, and you might as well expect the Sultan of Turkey to throw up his cap for the Commune, as the Viceroy of Canada to entertain a suggestion for the disintegration of his Dominion. I hope, therefore, they will not bear me any ill-will for having declined to bow my head beneath their "separation arch." It was a very good-humoured, and certainly not a disloyal bit of "bounce" which they had prepared for me. I suppose they wished me to know they were the arch enemies of Canada. Anyhow, I made them an arch reply.

Lord Dufferin's address closed with an eloquent appeal on behalf of the Indian population. He reminded his hearers that the Indians were not represented in Parliament, and that therefore the Governor-General was bound to watch over their welfare with especial solicitude. In British Columbia there had been an initial error, since the time when Sir James Douglas quitted office, in a neglect to recognise the Indian title to land. In Canada this mistake had not been made, and no Government, whether provincial or central, had failed to acknowledge that the original title to the land existed in the Indian tribes and communities that hunted or wandered over them. But in British Columbia, the Provincial Government had generally assumed that the fee simple in, as well as the sovereignty over the land, resided in the Queen. This had created jealousy and dissatisfaction, and though happily a joint commission had been agreed to for putting Indian interests on a more satisfactory footing, the eventuality of a collision with the warlike tribes in the North-

West, would have a most disastrous effect. Lord Dufferin had seen them in all phases of their existence

From the half-naked savage perched, like a bird of prey, in a red blanket, upon a rock trying to catch his miserable dinner of fish, to the neat Indian maidens in Mr. Duncan's school at Metlakatlah, as modest and as well-dressed as any clergyman's daughters in an English parish, or to the shrewd horse-riding Siwash of the Thompson Valley, with his racers in training for the Ashcroft Stakes, and as proud of his stock yard as a British squire. In his first condition it is evident he is scarcely a producer or a consumer; in his second he is eminently both, and in proportion as he can be raised to the higher level of civilisation, will be the degree to which he will contribute to the vital energies of the province. What you want are not resources, but human beings to develop them and consume them. Raise your thirty thousand Indians to the level Mr. Duncan has taught us they can be brought, and consider what an enormous amount of vital power you will have added to your present strength.[1] But I must not keep you longer. I thank

[1] The Indians of the Province numbered about twenty-five thousand in 1896, the total number throughout the Dominion is about four times as many and the probability is that they have not decreased very rapidly during the last twenty-five or thirty years. In British Columbia the abundance and accessibility of food, the mildness of the Coast climate, the protection, as it is officially claimed, of a beneficent form of Government, and the better social status of many of them, have operated in their favour. One thing which has tended largely to their benefit is their independent position. They receive no annuities or, indeed, any financial help, and are obliged to maintain themselves by hunting, fishing, trade, and labour, the opportunities for which are always at hand. Game is abundant, the sea and rivers teem with fish, and during the canning season the Indians are largely employed at good wages, and also earn money lumbering on the farms, and in other capacities. As compared with their eastern brethren, they

you most heartily for your patience and attention. Most earnestly do I desire the accomplishment of all your aspirations; and if ever I have the good fortune to come to British Columbia again, I hope it may be—by rail.[1]

This was the final speech of Lord Dufferin's extended tour in British Columbia. He had

are industrious, while such a thing as famine or starvation rarely or never occurs. In many places they have comfortable houses, and though not remarkable for cleanliness or intelligence, they possess to some degree the refinements of civilisation. Though not so picturesque as the plain Indians, they are considered sociologically on a higher plane. The Indian of the prairies or lowlands is tall, lithe, and sinewy, has an elongated face, aquiline nose and black piercing eyes. He is built to run, ride, see and smell at long range; is quick, agile and restless. The "Siwash" or British Columbian Indian, on the other hand, is short, thick-set in body and small in the legs, with a big square flat face on a head that sits close to a pair of heavy shoulders, while there is usually large chest and arm development. His occupation, *i.e.*, to sit in a canoe and fish, has largely helped to make him what he is, and his canoe is to the "Siwash" what the horse is to the Sioux.

As is known, there is a striking resemblance between the Indian and the Japanese, and when dressed alike it is sometimes difficult to distinguish the two nationalities. Mr. Charles Hill-Tout of Vancouver, Western Member of the Special Committee appointed by the British Association to organise and carry out an ethnological survey of British North America, is distinctly of opinion that the ancestors of the present Indian tribes in British Columbia, and those of certain Asian stocks, had a community of origin, or once lived in close contiguity.

[1] It took then sixteen days by a roundabout route *viâ* Detroit, Chicago, and San Francisco to do what the Canadian Pacific Railway can now achieve in five or six days. Bute Inlet was the site for the terminus then most in favour; Lord Dufferin preferred New Westminster, and twelve miles north thereof the Canadian Pacific now ends. The flourishing and picturesque town of Vancouver was then non-existent. I myself visited it a few years ago and it was almost impossible to realise, while traversing its busy and populous streets, that so recently as 1886 Vancouver had been burnt down to the ground with the exception of a single house!

travelled over ten thousand miles, and had inspected one of the most valuable provinces, occupying nearly one third of the total area of the Dominion. The gold mines of British Columbia are well-known: coal, iron, silver and copper are widely distributed, and the fisheries are highly valuable. Moreover, her forests and pastures are abundant, and the climate is especially favourable for their growth as well as genial for emigrants, being comparable to that of France or England. The Douglas pine grows to a gigantic size and is highly prized for, amongst other uses, its length, straightness, and tenacity and adaptability for masts of ships. Oaks, cedars, yew, maple, birch and many other trees furnish a practically illimitable supply of timber. All this may give some idea of the natural wealth of the province which it was to the general interest should be united with the Dominion by closer and more practicable lines of communication.

Lord Dufferin's speech was thus a very important pronouncement, but on the whole it did not satisfy the western province. He was sharply taken to task for publicly defending Mr. Mackenzie from the charge of double dealing in regard to the Esquimalt and Nanaimo Railway. His Excellency was charged with improperly throwing the great weight of his public and private character into the scales in his favour. This, however, was an untenable accusation, as had Mr. Mackenzie been guilty of what was imputed to him, it would have

seriously reflected on Lord Dufferin's personal honour, in maintaining such a person as his premier adviser. The Governor-General was thus fully justified in saying what he did : distinguishing what was a matter of policy from what was a point of honour.

About the close of the year any disappointment felt at the criticisms passed on his speech at Victoria must have been effectually banished from Lord Dufferin's mind by the receipt of a despatch from the Secretary of State, in which Lord Carnarvon said :

> I cannot convey to you in adequate terms my appreciation of the ability with which you have dealt with this very difficult question, and of the admirable language in which you have brought your views before the delegation. Your speech, I cannot doubt, will have the best effect upon the public opinion of British Columbia and, indeed, in every part of the Dominion, and will I hope contribute greatly to that calm and dispassionate view which is called for in a case surrounded by so many and great difficulties as in the present controversy.

Lord Carnarvon also wrote another and a lengthier despatch, under date of December 18th, 1876, in which he carefully reviewed the Report of the Committee of the Executive Council of British Columbia on the railway question, together with a previous report and a petition to the Queen from the Legislative Assembly of the province. The general trend of this despatch was towards the conclusion that the objections against the

course taken by the Dominion Government had been couched in severe and exaggerated language. Lord Carnarvon also took the opportunity to dwell on the importance of the terminus question, which depended so greatly on a proper access to the sea, and which was still unsettled. Consequently his Lordship refrained from expressing any definite opinion on the various points submitted for his decision, and which hinged on the foregoing.

But the crux of the difficulty had been substantially got rid of by Lord Dufferin's diplomacy. The great speech at Victoria, though not greeted with unreserved approval, had crushed out the talk of secession, and disposed the people of the province to hope on and rely on the Government promises to proceed actively with the construction of the railway.

On the return journey a visit was paid to the International Exhibition at Philadelphia—a show which did great service to the Dominion. Her admirable system of Township, County, Central, and Provincial Exhibitions had been gradually preparing her for the larger competition at Philadelphia, where she was brought face to face with the experience, skill, and wealth of the globe. In the multifarious products of the farm she proved to be excellent ; while her agricultural implements, and the out-turn of her machine shops, called for general admiration. So far as mineral products were concerned, there was a vast and varied display : gold from the Mari-

time and Pacific Provinces; silver, platinum, and copper from the Lake Superior regions; iron and coal from the Maritime Provinces, British Columbia, and the Saskatchewan Valley; splendid marble and building stone from all parts of the Dominion; gypsum and alabaster, plumbago and phosphates, and oil from the wells of Petrolia, with its allied products such as soaps, candles, paraffine, benzine, axle oil, and tar. Lastly may be mentioned her wonderful timber and lumber from British Columbia, the Ottawa Valley, and the Maritime Provinces; her cereals; fish gathered from the banks of Newfoundland to the waters of the Pacific, and her rich furs—all these combined to make a display as impressive as it was valuable.

On their arrival at Ottawa, Lord Dufferin was naturally presented with an address, in replying to which, he modestly said to his hearers, he could not presume that his visit to the West would have been productive of much practical result, but that his presence there amongst their fellow countrymen at the further side of the Rockies had been universally regarded as a proof pledge of the friendliness and goodwill felt for them by the people of Canada at large. He also spoke admiringly of the show made by Canada at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition, and concluded with an eloquent panegyric on the joint productions and achievements of the English-speaking community. "As you traverse the building from end to end, you almost forget to remember whether you be

English, Canadian, Australasian, American, from Africa, or from India, in the proud consciousness that you are a member of that great race, whose enterprise has invaded every region, whose children have colonised two continents, whose language is spoken by one-third of civilised mankind, whose industry throngs the markets of the globe, and whose political genius has developed the only successful form of constitutional government as yet known to the nations of the earth."

Although Lord Dufferin's relations with the United States were excellent, he could not resist the temptation, now and then, of poking a little sly fun at his friends across the border. On January 12th, 1877, he happened to be entertained at dinner by the National Club at Toronto, and took the opportunity to allude to the constitutional position of the Governor-General in a self-governing community like that of the Dominion. His Excellency went on to say that the principal achievements of such a personage consist rather in preventing mischief than in accomplishing any substantial good.

Even in regard to his public speeches, which communicate some little substance to his shadowy individuality, the best parts of them, to adopt the privilege of my country, are those which have been left out. His ordinary duties are very similar to those of the humble functionary we see superintending the working of some complicated mass of steam-driven machinery (laughter). This personage merely walks about with a little tin vessel of oil in his hand (renewed laughter), and he pours in a drop here,

and a drop there, as occasion or the creaking of a joint may require, while his utmost vigilance is directed to no higher aim than the preservation of his wheels and cogs from the intrusion of dust, grits (roars of laughter, renewed again and again), or other foreign bodies. There, gentlemen, what was I saying? See how easily an unguarded tongue can slip into an ambiguous expression (uproarious laughter)—an expression which I need not assure you is entirely innocent of all political significance.

"Grits," it may be explained, was the slang name of the Opposition. The playful allusion to the States came in in reference to a passage congratulating Canada on "her school systems, her feudal arrangements, her municipal institutions, her maritime regulations," which had repeatedly been cited in England as worthy of imitation:

I am quite sure there is not an American politician between the Atlantic and the Pacific, who would not at the present moment be content to give half his fortune, and perhaps a great deal more, to possess that most serviceable and useful thing, a Governor-General (great laughter). Indeed . . . . I have been extremely nervous (laughter) about passing so near the border, as I had to do on my way hither. There is no knowing what might happen in the case of people under such a stress of temptation. Raids have been prompted sometimes by love as well as hate (renewed laughter). Who knows to what lengths Mr. Tilden and Mr. Hayes, and the millions of their respective adherents, now drawn up in hostile array against each other, might not be driven in the agony of their present suspense? (laughter). A British Governor-General! What a cutting of the Gordian knot! (great laughter). And so near, too: just across

the water. A gun-boat and a sergeant's guard, and the thing is done!

And with a half threat of moving nearer to the North Pole in self-defence, and also with many protests and asseverations that nothing would induce him to part from his friends in the Dominion, Lord Dufferin concluded with this highly moral sentiment:

Nay, more, so deeply attached am I to our Canada, that the Pashalik of Bulgaria shall not tempt me away (laughter), even though a full domestic establishment, such as is customary in that country, should be provided for me out of the taxes of the people, and Lady Dufferin gave her consent, which is doubtful (great laughter and applause).

CHAPTER VII

THE GOVERNOR-GENERALSHIP OF CANADA
(*continued*)

FOURTH PARLIAMENTARY SESSION—TOUR TO MANITOBA—HALIFAX FISHERY COMMISSION—VISIT TO NEW YORK—FIFTH SESSION—FAREWELL FUNCTIONS AND SPEECHES—VISIT TO HARVARD—MACDONALD MINISTRY—RETROSPECT

ON February 8th, 1877, the fourth Session of the Third Parliament of the Dominion opened. The Viceroy's speech—not so colourless and depressing a production as a normal Royal speech with us—made mention of a variety of interesting points. Progress with the Welland and Lachine canals (with the view to the improvement of the St. Lawrence navigation) was notified; the opening of the Inter-colonial Railway for traffic was announced, one of its immediate advantages being the delivery and reception of the British mails at Halifax after the closing of the St. Lawrence; and favourable notice was made of the Canadian products, manufactures and works of art at the Philadelphia Exhibition. The Governor-General expressed regret at his inability to announce any settlement of the Fishery claims under

the Washington Treaty—a dispute that was destined to occupy a good deal of further time. Further concessions were announced to the Indian tribes of the North-West Territories: on this the Viceroy remarked that the expenditure involved by the Indian Treaties was undoubtedly large, but the Canadian policy was nevertheless the cheapest ultimately, and above all it was a humane, just and Christian policy. Notwithstanding the deplorable war waged between the Indian tribes in the United States territories and the Government of that country during the previous year, no difficulty had arisen with the Canadian tribes living in the immediate vicinity of the scene of hostilities.

One of the first subjects debated in Parliament raised the issue between Protection and Free Trade. During the recess there had been a good deal of discussion on trade, which was then in a state of depression. Further protection had been advocated, but this was contrary to the policy of the Ministry, and as time went on the opposition grew. Mr. Cartwright the Finance Minister had been compelled each Session to admit a decreasing revenue, but he submitted no remedial plan. The dispute culminated in a motion brought forward by Sir John Macdonald on March 2nd, in favour of readjusting the tariff so as to benefit and foster the agricultural mining and manufacturing interests of the Dominion. This was, however, defeated by a majority of forty-nine. The rest of a not very fruitful and rather disappoint-

ing Session was taken up with (1) a movement, eventually successful, for granting an amnesty to W. D. O'Donoghue, one of the ringleaders in the North-West troubles; and (2) a discussion on the Pacific Railway, the effect of which was to do nothing to alleviate the discontent under which British Columbia was labouring. On April 28th, Lord Dufferin prorogued Parliament.

Towards the end of July their Excellencies made arrangements for a visit to the distant Province of Manitoba, travelling by way of Detroit, Chicago and St. Paul. Now-a-days, of course, Winnipeg, the Capital of Manitoba, would be reached by the Canadian Pacific Railway, but at that time the western provinces were practically only accessible from the East by a devious and circuitous route through the territory of another Power. This in itself, if one reflects, is a striking proof of how anomalous and ill-developed the conditions of the Dominion were, and what a paramount necessity there was for the closer and direct union of those extensive regions, that spread themselves over sixty degrees of longitude, from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Descending the Red River the Viceregal party arrived at Winnipeg, on August 6th, where they spent a very pleasant week. Receptions, inspections of institutions, levees, addresses and similar functions ensued, after which visits were paid to places of interest in the neighbourhood. One of the most noteworthy was the inspection of the

Mennonite Settlement on the Rat River. The Mennonites are a religious sect now found in Switzerland, Germany, France, and Russia, who derive their belief from the teachings of Simons Menno, a Dutchman, who although he was probably the foremost champion of the sect, was not their original founder. The persecutions to which they were at various times subjected led them to emigrate to various countries, amongst others, to the United States in 1683, and recently to Canada.

In the latter region the Mennonites made excellent settlers. They brought into the province half a million dollars in cash, in addition to which the Canadian Government set apart large tracts of land for their exclusive colonisation and lent them a hundred thousand dollars at six per cent. for eight years, to assist them in building houses and cultivating the soil. There were about six thousand five hundred in all, at the time, settled in two localities. A delegation of the officials, headed by the emigration agent, came forward to meet Lord Dufferin, who made a very practical and friendly speech to them. His Excellency bade them welcome to Canadian soil, and gave very pointed references to their peculiar religious convictions as to the unlawfulness of warfare. They were indeed called on to engage in a great struggle, and contend with foes whom it required their best energies to encounter. But "the war to which we invite you as recruits and comrades, is a war waged against the brute forces of nature; these

forces, however, will welcome our domination, and reward our attack by placing their treasures at our disposal." He concluded his eloquent and most touching address by inviting his hearers to assist the people of Canada in choosing the members of Parliament, in shaping the laws, and in moulding the future destinies of the country.

At Gimli, on the west coast of Lake Winnipeg, a visit was paid to another foreign reservation, consisting of Icelanders who had emigrated to Canada in 1875, and settling in Victoria County, Ontario, had become dissatisfied with the character of the soil. The whole body, upwards of two hundred and fifty souls, were transported at the country's expense to the North-West, and further efforts were made in Iceland to induce immigration into Canada. To this invitation nearly twelve hundred persons eventually responded. At the time of Lord Dufferin's visit the reserve covered an area of four hundred and twenty-seven square miles, Gimli being the chief village of the settlement.

His Excellency's reply to the address of the Icelanders made reference to his visit to their pristine home twenty years before. He complimented them on their well-built and commodious homesteads, certainly far superior to the farmhouses he remembered in Iceland, and was gratified at finding a library in nearly every hut. But he warned them of the disadvantages and evils of a stove-heated hut, as compared with the healthiness and exhilaration attaching to the open fire-place.

"A constitution nursed upon the oxygen of our bright winter atmosphere makes its owner feel as though he could toss about the pine trees in his glee; whereas, to the sluggard shivering over his stove-pipe, it is a horror and a nameless hardship to put his nose outside the door." Some encouraging remarks were addressed to the Icelanders founded on the inspiriting records and traditions of their forefathers, with which his Excellency showed himself well acquainted; and in conclusion he assured his hearers, in terms which made them proud indeed, that a more valuable accession to the intelligence, patriotism, loyalty, industry and strength of the country, had never been introduced into the Dominion.

The Manitoban tour was brought to a fitting close with a grand *déjeuner* at the City Hall, Winnipeg. In returning thanks for toast of his health the Governor-General made one of his best speeches. He referred to Manitoba as the keystone of that mighty arch of sister provinces, which spans the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and then went on, in a very original strain, to try to convey a better geographical notion of its size and importance, by enumerating the rivers flowing through it, because, as Lord Dufferin neatly put it, as a poor man cannot afford to live in a big house, so a small country cannot support a big river. The passage is too long to quote, but the almost endless catalogue of lakes and streams, several over a thousand miles in length, is not

more surprising than the variety, picturesqueness and humour imparted by the speaker to his description of the fancied route of travellers, who might adopt this fluvial mode of exploring the whole region. Part of the speech was devoted also to Indian matters, and it is curious at this day to note the prophetic warning uttered by Lord Dufferin regarding the possible extinction of that grand beast, the buffalo, on which so many of the Indian tribes were at that time dependent. Now-a-days, as one travels through Manitoba, people tell you that the beast is indeed virtually extinct, though I observe that Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace, in his account of the present Prince of Wales' recent tour ("The Web of Empire"), speaks hopefully of a small herd at Banff, that charming health resort in the Rockies. The herd there has doubled itself in three years, and may possibly re-create the breed.[1] The present President of the United States, too, mentions some isolated herds in more or less inaccessible places; but certainly Lord Dufferin's unheeded warning has been within an ace of fulfilment. Appreciative and kindly reference was made in the same speech to the Icelandic and Mennonite settlers, and a jocular allusion to the United States, whose publicists were every now and then predicting the inevitable union of the two countries, found uproarious

[1] When I was travelling in Canada in 1898 I was told by an old resident that he remembered seeing a few buffaloes years before deliberately charge a passing train, while endeavouring to cross the line, with but small hurt to themselves!

approval. Canada was likened by the speaker to a growing maiden, "heart-whole and stately": the States to "a big, boisterous, hobbledehoy of a cousin, fresh from school and elate with animal spirits and good nature."

She knows he is stronger and more muscular than herself; has lots of pocket-money (laughter), can smoke cigars and loaf around in public places in an ostentatious manner forbidden to the decorum of her own situation (roars of laughter). She admires him for his bigness, strength, and prosperity. She likes to hear of his punching the heads of other boys (laughter). She anticipates and will be proud of his future success in life, and both likes him and laughs at him for his affectionate, loyal, though somewhat patronising friendship for herself. But of no nearer connection does she dream, nor does his bulky image for a moment disturb her virginal meditations (laughter). In a world apart, secluded from all extraneous influences, nestling at the feet of her majestic mother, Canada dreams her dream and forebodes her destiny—a dream of ever-broadening harvests, multiplying towns and villages, and expanding pastures; of constitutional self-government and a confederated Empire; of a perpetuation for all time upon this continent of that temperate and well-balanced system of government, which combines in one mighty whole, as the eternal possession of all Englishmen, the brilliant history and traditions of the past, with the freest and most untrammelled liberty of action in the future (tremendous cheering).

The speech subsequently made by the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Morris, also excited much enthusiasm, for his Honour was just finishing his term of office, and had earned the respect of everybody.

He confessed to having had "Manitoba on the brain," and had been privileged to witness a vast improvement, not only in the material enrichment of the province, but also in the relations between the red and white children of the Queen. In his kind treatment of the half-breeds and Indians, he was ably seconded by his wife and daughters, who were widely popular.

Mr. Leggo, in his history of Lord Dufferin's Canadian administration, devotes an interesting and eloquent passage to noting the effect of the Winnipeg speech. The previous delivery at Victoria had opened the eyes of the Dominion and the world to the resources of British Columbia; the Winnipeg speech had produced an even wider impression. It elevated Canada in the eyes of Canadians, who had so long heard the States eulogised, and their own country depreciated, that they were beginning to believe the tale. His welcome and kindly recognition of the Mennonites found a grateful echo in many thousands of German and Russian homes, while his reference to the loyalty of the French half-breeds evoked similar gratitude in other quarters. If at home any coldness lingered in the feelings entertained by some schools of politicians towards the Canadians, this was largely dispelled by Lord Dufferin's utterances. These are Mr. Leggo's views, to which most people will subscribe. The Viceroy was a genuine supporter of what we should term Imperial ideas now-a-days, and to him may be

truly ascribed, not only a leading share in the inception of this great policy, but also a final quietus imparted to the "Canadian annexation" dreams of some Americans across the border.

On November 23rd, 1877, the Halifax Fishery Commission presented its Report. This Commission had originated out of Article XXII. of the Treaty of Washington of 1871, which had empowered the Americans to fish for twelve years in the British grounds, and the British to fish in American waters north of 39° N. lat. As, however, the Canadian rights were alleged to be far more valuable than the American rights—an allegation however, not admitted by the United States' Government—it was agreed by Article XXII. that the difference, if any, should be ascertained by a Commission. The latter consisted of Sir Alexander Galt, representing the Imperial Government, the Hon. Judge Kellogg, representing the Government of the United States, and Mr. Maurice Delfosse. On November 23rd, an award was made in favour of Great Britain for five and a half million dollars. It was signed by Sir A. Galt and Mr. Delfosse; but the American Commissioner declined to be a party, and protested against it, a course which provoked a good deal of unfavourable comment, even in the States.

Towards the end of January, 1878, Lord Dufferin left Ottawa for New York, in response to an invitation from the American Geographical Society, which had convened a meeting for the discussion

of Captain Howgate's plan for the establishment of a small colony of hardy and enterprising men in the far North, with the object of exploring the Arctic regions. The meeting took place at Chickering Hall on January 31st, and in the absence of Captain Howgate, an abstract of his paper was read by Lieutenant Greely, after short addresses by Mr. Bryant and Mr. Bayard Taylor, in which his Excellency was proposed as honorary member of the American Geographical Society. The election was unanimous, and in recognition Lord Dufferin made one of his usual humorous speeches. Regarding his claims to be considered as an Arctic traveller he confessed:

> It is true I once sailed towards the North, and got as near the Pole as Washington is to Ottawa, but the voyage was as fruitless as that of the Peri to the gate of Paradise, and possessed but one feature in common with the expeditions of more serious explorers, namely, that I had to turn back again (great laughter).

In the same speech Lord Dufferin brought in some very felicitous allusions to Columbus, comparing himself to the Indian chief, whom the discoverer of the New World had brought home in chains. The chains his Excellency was wearing were "those which had been forged around his heart by the courtesy, kindness, and consideration he had received at the hands of the people of the United States, and such fetters even the imperial mandate of his hearers would be powerless to loose" (great applause).

Lord Dufferin had many warm personal friends among distinguished American *littérateurs* and politicians, and had long taken a strong interest in the public affairs of the States. And in the very first speech after his appointment to the Canadian Governor-Generalship, one of its most impressive passages was that in which he dwelt on the community of aims, ideas, and interests of both Canada and the States, and the paramount importance of a thoroughly friendly understanding between the two countries. Certainly the fruit of this feeling was perceptible in the very kind reception extended to the Earl and Countess every time they crossed the frontier. On the occasion of his previous visit to New York in October 1874, Lord Dufferin naturally declined a public banquet, but he was most hospitably entertained at dinner at Delmonico's by twenty or thirty of the very foremost citizens. At Chicago he was cordially welcomed by the Corporation and citizens as well as by the Board of Trade, and to each of these he made suitable replies and addresses which quite won the hearts of his hearers.

The fifth Session of the Third Parliament of the Dominion was opened by Lord Dufferin on January 7th, 1878. Reference was made in the Speech to the Viceregal visit to Manitoba and the North-West. The five and a half million dollars Fishery award was pronounced to be much under the amount claimed by the Canadian Government

as the value of the fisheries, but his Excellency added a remark, by-the-bye, in striking contrast with the course taken by Mr. Kellogg. "Having assented to the creation of the tribunal for the determination of their value, we are bound loyally to assent to the decision given." The Governor-General congratulated the country on the success of Canada at the Sydney Exhibition, and on the prospect thus opened up of a new market for Canadian goods. As to the Pacific Railway, the surveys had been pressed to completion, and the question of route was believed to be now within feasibility of decision.

A visit on the part of their Excellencies to Montreal gave opportunity for a grand reception as well as a ball, at the Windsor Hotel, a fine building now familiar to tourists, then newly erected. Next day the McGill College was visited, and the Chancellor read an address in Greek, to which Lord Dufferin replied in the same language. The *New England Journal of Education* remarked of this that the address fully bore out the encomiums bestowed on it by classical scholars at the time, and that its neat, terse style, and pure Attic composition showed that the speaker—as is the case with so many of the public men of England—had kept up his classical reading.[1] The honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was also conferred on his Excellency.

During the Parliamentary Session several

[1] He had also learned to read Greek colloquially. See p. 370

endeavours were made to pass resolutions of a protective character in favour of duties on imported cereals, flour, coal, etc., but in each case the proposals were rejected by substantial majorities. The same fate attended a motion which gave rise to a lengthy debate, spread over twenty-seven hours, on the dismissal of the De Boucherville Ministry by the Hon. Luc Letellier de St. Just, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Quebec. There was considerable want of sympathy between Mr. Letellier and his Ministers, mainly owing to their diametrically opposed political views, the former being a strong Liberal, and, at the time of his appointment, a member of Mr. Mackenzie's Government, while his Ministers were Conservatives.

Lord Dufferin's Governor-Generalship of Canada was now verging towards its close, and on February 27th, a Farewell Ball was held at Government House. Later on, in April, two theatrical performances—the last of a merry series which had at intervals diversified the round of social functions at Rideau Hall—were given, the plays being "New Men and Old Acres," and "Sweethearts," in both of which Lady Dufferin took the leading part. The feature of the entertainment, however, was a very touching epilogue, in which I think one can detect the poetic and literary fancy of his Excellency. It is so good that I am more than tempted to give it at length.

EPILOGUE

KIND friends! for such indeed you've proved to us,
Kinder than just, I fear—and is it thus
That we must quit you? Shall the curtain fall
O'er this bright pageant like a funeral pall,
And blot for ever from your friendly sight
The well-known forms and faces that to-night
For the last time have used their mimic arts
To tempt your laughter and to touch your hearts,
Without one word of thanks to let you know
How irredeemable's the debt we owe
For that warm welcome which, year after year,
Has waited on our poor attempts to cheer,
With the gay humour of these trivial plays,
Some few hours stolen from your busy days?
Despite ourselves the grateful words *will* come,
For love could teach a language to the dumb.
'Tis just one lustre since—a tyro band,
On paltry farce we tried our 'prentice hand,
Treading at first a less pretentious stage,
E'en that the goatherds of the Thespian age;
Without a curtain;—for each slip, a screen;—
While bedroom candles light the meagre scene.
But, soon emboldened by our Public's smile,
Our Muse attempts a more ambitious style,
"The Dowager" parades her stately grace,—
"Our Wife" declares two husbands out of place,—
To "School" we send you, and—a sight too rare—
Show you for once a really "Happy Pair."
Then having warned your daughters not "To Lend"
Their only "Lover" to a lady friend—
We next the fatal "Scrap of Paper" burn,
And follow with "One Hour"—"Jacques" in turn,

"Semiramis,"—a Debutante's "First Night,"—
Winging at each essay a loftier flight,
Until at last a bumper house we drew
With the melodious "Mayor of St. Brieux"!
These our achievements—but we gladly own
The praise, if praise be due, is half your own.
'Twas your encouragement that nerved our wits,
Conjured hysterics, sulks, tears, fainting-fits;
You taught our "Ingénues" those airs serene,
Those blushing sirs to drop their bashful mien,—
Wherefore commissioned am I to come to-day
Our hearts and laurels at your feet to lay,
And yet my task is only half fulfilled.

To the Actors.

Brothers and sisters of Thalia's guild,
Who've faced with me the critic's glittering eye
And dared the terrors of yon gallery,
Who've lightened all my labours with your love,
And made each effort a new pleasure prove,—
If words could thank you for your generous aid,
These lips should bankrupt be to see you paid.
And, oh! believe, as long as life endures,
The best affections of my heart are yours.

To the Audience.

And now one last farewell—a few months more,
And we depart your loved Canadian shore,
Never again to hear your plaudits rise,
Nor watch the ready laughter in your eyes
Gleam out responsive to our Author's wit,
However poorly we interpret it;
Nor see with Artist's pride your tears o'erflow
In homage to our simulated woe.

Yet scenes like these can never wholly fade
Into oblivion's melancholy shade,
And oft at home, when Christmas fire-logs burn,
Our pensive thoughts instinctively will turn
To this fair City with her crown of Towers,
And all the joys and friends that once were ours;
And oft shall yearning fancy fondly fill
This hall with guests, and conjure up at will
Each dear familiar face, each kindly word
Of praise that e'er our player souls have stirred,
Till 'neath the melting spell of memory,
Our love flows back toward you like the sea;—
For know—whatever way our fortunes turn—
Upon the altar of our hearts shall burn
Those votive fires no fuel need renew—
Our prayers for blessings on your land and you.

The same month witnessed a more important function. On April 16th a joint Address of both Houses of Parliament was presented to Lord and Lady Dufferin in the Senate Chamber. Deep regret was expressed at their approaching departure; his Excellency's zealous devotion to the public interests, his special patronage of literature, art, and industrial pursuits, and the beneficial results of his visits and tours throughout the provinces were gratefully acknowledged.

In the Viceroy's reply there were one or two striking passages. He remarked:

I found you a loyal people, and I leave you the truest-hearted subjects of her Majesty's Dominions. I found you proud of your descent, and anxious to maintain your connection with the Mother Country; I leave you

more convinced than ever of the solicitude of Great Britain to reciprocate your affection, of her dependence on your fidelity in every emergency.[1] I found you men of various nationalities—of English, French, Irish, Scotch, and German descent—working out the problems of Constitutional Government with admirable success. I leave you with even a deeper conviction in your minds that the due application of the principles is capable of controlling the gravest ministerial crises, to the satisfaction of the people at large, and of their leaders and representatives of every shade of opinion.

When I resign the temporary Viceroyalty, with which I have been invested, into the hands of my Sovereign, I shall be able to assure her that not a leaf has fallen from her maple chaplet, that the lustre of no jewel in her transatlantic diadem has been dimmed.

The Queen's birthday was celebrated in Montreal by a grand military display concluding with a sham fight. A body of American volunteers from St. Albans, Vermont, took part with the Canadian forces, and this called forth a graceful acknowledgment from the Viceroy. "A greater compliment," he truly observed, "could hardly be paid by one country to another than that which you have been good enough to confer upon us, by thus joining with our fellow-citizens and soldiers in celebrating the birthday of our Queen" (loud cheers). At

[1] How truly the trend of events was here gauged! Great Britain did not rely in vain on the Dominion, as the events of 1900–01 showed. And the assistance then given was something more than a matter of numbers. "The over-sea Colonials," said General Delarey, "know our methods and meet our tactics. Their resourcefulness dismayed the Boer Leaders."

the evening banquet Lord Dufferin dwelt more on military topics, making especial reference to the "Celtic effervescence along the southern frontier," which he minimised and laughed at. He took the opportunity to speak highly of the hundreds and hundreds of loyal Irishmen whom he had met in various parts of the country, labouring in the field, the forest, the riverside, and in the mine, and wound up by saying that on a day of peril, if in the Canadian line of battle he could find a regiment more essentially Irish in its composition than the rest, it would be to the keeping of that regiment he would entrust the standard of the Queen and the flag of the Dominion.

Shortly afterwards Lord Dufferin returned to the capital, and on April 7th the last farewell was spoken, and their Excellencies steamed off for Montreal, to receive fresh proofs, at that city, at Quebec, and other places, of the deep personal regret shared by all at their departure. As Mr. Leggo says, the Dufferins "had so wound themselves around the hearts of the people, that the scene did not bear the impress of officials moving to another sphere of action, it was more like that of dear and warm personal friends parting for ever."

In June his Excellency attended the Commencement Exercises at Harvard University, when the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred upon him. Only thirteen distinguished foreigners had received the LL.D., viz.:

Sir Charles Lyell.	1844
Sir Henry Holland	1847
Henry Hallam	1848
The Earl of Elgin	1853
The Earl of Ellesmere	1853
Sir Francis Napier, Bart.	1858
Lord Lyons	1860
John Stuart Mill.	1862
Edward Labordaye	1864
The Marquess of Ripon	1871
James Martineau.	1872
Thomas Carlyle	1875
The Earl of Dufferin	1878

The latest *alumnus* expressed his thanks in just the learned and courteous language befitting the occasion, and the Hon. R. C. Winthrop, who played the part of host, made happy reference to the common language of both countries, in which his distinguished guest had returned thanks.

We have been privileged to hear him in that dear mother tongue of New England as well as of Old England, which is fast becoming the common speech of both hemispheres (applause); which has just achieved a new triumph in being employed by Bismarck as well as Beaconsfield at the Berlin Congress, and which, though it may not quite yet have reached the dignity of being the court language of the world, must always be the language for those who would study, in the original, the great principles of liberty and law, and the glorious history of free institutions and free men; the language of Washington and Franklin and Webster, as well as of Chatham and Burke and Fox and Sheridan (applause).

God grant that it may ever be a bond of love, and a pledge of peace between the nations which are privileged to call it their own!

A joint address of the Legislative Council and Legislative Assembly of the Province of Quebec gave opportunity for a fresh reply, in which Lord Dufferin availed himself of the opportunity to dwell on the peculiar racial characteristics of the province. He remarked that ethnological homogeneity was, in his opinion, not an unmixed benefit, and that the inter-action of national idiosyncrasies imparted freshness, variety, and colour. He always aspired to see its French inhabitants executing for Canada the functions which France had so admirably performed for Europe. A tour through the "Eastern Townships," a beautiful district of the Province of Quebec, furnished an opportunity for commending agricultural pursuits to his hearers, rather than the occupation of a small shopkeeper. The number of replies his Excellency had to make, often under circumstances of haste and want of preparation, was indeed remarkable, and the more so when one considers how invariably he managed to say the right thing in the right way.

Lady Dufferin left Canada on August 31st, to the regret of all, a dense crowd gathering together to give her a hearty, though necessarily sad, "send-off" as the SS. *Sardinian* left the docks at Quebec. Lord Dufferin remained behind, for his reign had not yet reached its official close. A few days later, on September 5th, an interesting

deputation, consisting of a number of the Municipalities of Ontario, travelled a considerable distance to Quebec—the ancient capital—to present an address to the Viceroy on his approaching departure. Headed by three Highland pipers the municipal delegation proceeded to the Terrace when the address was read by Mr. McMillan, who had been chiefly instrumental in organising the affair. Lord Dufferin in his reply naturally touched on the personal merits of the Marquess of Lorne and H.R.H. the Princess Louise, who were to succeed to the Viceregal dignities, speaking with the most friendly appreciation of the one and with the most respectful admiration of the Princess. And yet, alas! there were spots on the sun; so there was a congenital defect attaching to the appointment of Lord Lorne.

He is not an Irishman! (great laughter). It is not his fault—he did the best he could for himself—(renewed laughter)—he came as near the right thing as possible by being born a Celtic Highlander! (continued laughter). There is no doubt the world is best administered by Irishmen. Things never went better with us either at home or abroad than when Lord Palmerston ruled Great Britain, Lord Mayo governed India, Lord Monck directed the destinies of Canada, etc. Have not even the French at last made the same discovery in the person of Marshal MacMahon? (laughter and applause). But still we must be generous, and it is right Scotchmen should have a turn. Nay, I will go a step further—I would even let the poor Englishman take an occasional try at the helm—(great laughter)—if for no other reason than to make him aware how much better we manage the business.

The Parliamentary Election resulted in an estimated majority against the Ministry of Mr. Mackenzie of over eighty. On October 9th his resignation was placed in the hands of the Governor-General. In the meantime the round of farewell addresses and replies was necessarily going on, one of the most prominent of these being in connection with the Toronto Exhibition, which was formally opened by his Excellency on September 24th. A luncheon given by the Ontario Society of Artists furnished an opportunity to Lord Dufferin to moot a proposal he had already discussed with the Governor of New York State, that the two Governments should co-operate in establishing round the Niagara Falls an international park, and so extinguish the objectionable squatting interests which had established themselves there and levied a sort of blackmail on all visitors.

On October 17th and 19th, the members of Sir John Macdonald's new Ministry were sworn in by his Excellency at Montreal and Quebec respectively. At the latter city the corner-stone of the now famous Dufferin Terrace was laid, and a few days later, the 25th instant, Lord Dufferin left in the Allan steamer *Polynesian* escorted by H.M.S. *Sirius* and *Argus* and a number of steamers loaded with citizens who desired to pay their last adieux to his Excellency.

Compared with the administrations of former rulers, Lord Dufferin's reign was quiet, but it

marked a great advance in strengthening and extending the principles of Constitutional Government, while it distinctly elevated Canada in the estimation of the world. The resources of her enormous territory were unfolded for the first time in picturesque and eloquent, but at the same time not exaggerated language. The delicate position of the French Canadians in regard to the bulk of the population was at all times handled by Lord Dufferin with the most conspicuous tact and respect, and the same consideration, relieved by genial touches of humour, was observable whenever he had to dwell on the aspirations and relations of Canada and the United States. In his systematic advocacy of the need for strengthening the ties between the Colonies and the Mother Country Lord Dufferin was undoubtedly the pioneer of the great movement which Mr. Chamberlain has since so energetically developed; while his recognition of the common interests of England and America, and his anticipation of closer co-operation and understanding between the two greatest members of the English-speaking family, is another marked proof of a political insight, which we now-a-days can appreciate even better than his hearers did at the time. Lord Granville's testimony, at a grand banquet at the Reform Club on Lord Dufferin's return home, that he had actually "created" the Dominion of Canada is perhaps the most authoritative verdict on that chapter of his career.

CHAPTER VIII

PRESIDENT, ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY—AMBASSADOR AT ST. PETERSBURG—TURKISH AFFAIRS—WAR WITH TURKOMANS—NIHILISM—ASSASSINATION OF CZAR—TRANSFERRED TO CONSTANTINOPLE—RECEPTION BY SULTAN—THE *LADY HERMIONE* YACHT—LIFE AT THERAPIA

ON his return home Lord Dufferin accepted the Presidentship of the Royal Geographical Society, in May 1878, and took the chair for the first time on December 9th in that year. The subject of the evening's paper was the favourite one of Arctic exploration. But when the time came for opening the discussion, Lord Dufferin modestly disclaimed being an authority on such a momentous topic, especially in the august company in which he found himself. The official record of his speech goes on:

Were this a literary society: were this a medical or an antiquarian audience, I should perhaps be tempted, on the strength of my own Arctic experiences, to address you as an authority; but in the presence of geographers it would lay any one open to the charge of presumption, who, having merely taken a summer cruise of pleasure in the direction of the North Pole, should venture to express an opinion on the grave questions raised by the papers. It would be as unreasonable as if a gentleman inheriting the patronymic of "Bishop" were to proceed to ordain

clergymen. I therefore prefer to call on the gentlemen of Arctic experience present to express their opinions.

At the conclusion of the discussion the President had to add a few words, and these showed that he had closely followed the trend of the various reasons assigned in favour of renewed Arctic exploration. There had, he remarked, been one omission in the arguments adduced in favour of England prosecuting further researches in the direction of the North Pole. Next to Russia, England was the greatest Arctic Power in the world. Though from the happy absence of crime in that region, the Canadian Government had not had occasion to establish judges and prisons there, it should not be forgotten that the Queen's Writ ran to the Pole, and the least that a country could do was to examine its territorial boundaries. I was present at this meeting and can recall the mutual congratulations of several distinguished F.R.G.S.'s, at their having secured so witty and delightful a President.

Unfortunately, Lord Dufferin's tenure of this office was very short lived. In February 1879, he was appointed H.M.'s Ambassador at St. Petersburg, in succession to Lord Augustus Loftus, and on the 10th of that month, at the evening meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, he found himself compelled to relinquish the Presidentship, and bid farewell to the Fellows. In doing so he expressed the sensation of a melancholy satisfaction of knowing that, when at length he

might return to find a seat upon those benches, there would be few of the Society's explorers who would have had a larger experience of the characteristics of an Arctic climate than himself.

The diplomatic relations between England and Russia were at that time far from placid. The hard struggle with Turkey had ended in a treaty, that of San Stefano, concluded between the two late combatants, but the reception of this treaty throughout Europe, and especially in England, made it clear to Russia that the former treaties of 1856 and 1871 could not be thus abrogated without the consent of the other parties thereto. The modifications effected by the Treaty of Berlin, four months later, had naturally done little to smoothen the Russian *amour propre*, which considered that Europe with England at its head had in a measure robbed the Czar's people of the legitimate fruits of their victorious campaign.

At the beginning of the year, though six months had elapsed since the conclusion of the Treaty of Berlin, peace had not been signed between Russia and Turkey and it was not till February 8th that this took place. The indemnity to be paid by the latter was £32,100,000, the mode of payment being reserved for future arrangement, a matter in which much trouble was eventually generated.

In Asia, in particular, events were momentous and critical. England was engaged in hostilities with Sher Ali, the Amir of Afghanistan, consequent on his secret negotiations with General Kaufmann,

Photo by] [*Elliott & Fry.*

LORD DUFFERIN.

[*To face p.* 164.

Russia's representative in Turkestan, and his hostile repulse of our friendly mission. On the Perso-Turkoman frontier, too, things had not shaped happily for Russia.

Several expeditions had been despatched against the Tekkehs with indifferent result, and in 1879 General Lomakin, the Military Governor of Transcaspia had suffered a serious defeat at their hands. Throughout Russia there was burning desire for revenge on a foe who had so long defied them, and General Skobelof was entrusted with the command of a powerful expedition which, after prolonged operations, finally captured Geok-Tepe, the stronghold of the Tekkehs, in January 1881. This broke the back of the Turkoman resistance, and a few years later, in 1884, the headman of the Merv Tribes made formal submission to the White Czar in General Komarof's drawing-room at Askabad. The way was thus made clear for the occupation of Old Sarakhs by Russia, and other movements which led to the Anglo-Russian demarcation of the Afghan frontier (see p. 217).

Lord Dufferin had a difficult ambassadorial part to play, in adopting an attitude at once dignified and conciliatory, but this was exactly the *rôle* for which he was best fitted, and though, of course, he now moved in the twilight of diplomacy, rather than in the full light of Viceregal administration, his success was as great in his new post as it had ever been in Canada.

In his peregrinations around St. Petersburg, Lord Dufferin had sometimes to submit to the necessity of "personal protection": a precautionary inflic tion from which the members of diverse British Governments, notably those of 1880-85, have not been exempt. An amusing incident was narrated to me apropos of one of these excursions. He had reached a Russian suburban village, where a fair was in full swing, with its concomitant delights of "roundabouts." Lord Dufferin contemplated the scene of enjoyment with obvious relish, till all of a sudden he could not stand it any longer and, to the scandalised horror of his two attendant detectives, sprang forward on to the back of one of the circum-ambient wooden steeds, and careered round and round gaily, to the inspiring tunes of the organ. Unfortunately, there was nobody present to commemorate this interesting diplomatic episode with the help of a snap-shot camera.

Another Russian incident I recall from an Italian writer, Signor Diego Angeli. Lord Dufferin was an excellent water-colour artist, as I myself have had reason to note from the pretty sketches he showed me at Clandeboye. I am perfectly certain, from his handiwork, that had his proclivities led him in the direction of art rather than the public services, his unquestioned ability and energy to excel in whatever he took up, would have easily gained for him the post of President of the Royal Academy. My readers may recall the delightfully ornate and eloquent speeches with which the late

Lord Leighton surprised the world after his promotion to the Presidency. There seems to me to have been a good deal in common between the styles of the two orators, and there may be a further idiosyncratic affinity between art and eloquence. Anyhow, Signor Angeli, a critic of no mean taste, was immensely struck with two water-colours shown to him. The first was a group of Russian ladies, bathing *au naturel.* Lord Dufferin, while out for a ride near the Russian capital, had unexpectedly descended on a secret bevy of feminine bathers, disporting themselves by the banks of a stream. Unlike Actæon he was fortunately concealed from the gaze of the nymphs, and was thus enabled to jot down in a sketch-book what Signor Angeli rather unkindly calls their crude proportions, and physiognomies, with uncompromising Anglo-Saxon realism. I am quite convinced, however, though I never saw it, that the sketch must have been of a far more artistic and refined character than the Italian writer in the *Nuova Antologia* would seem to hint. The second water-colour that excited his admiration was the original of the pathetic illustration in "Letters from High Latitudes," of a skeleton of an eighteenth-century Dutch whaler in a mouldering coffin, found by Lord Dufferin on the desolate shores of Spitzbergen.

The internal politics of Russia were as troubled and disquieting as her exterior relations. Nihilism had spread widely during the latter part of the

reign of Alexander II., in consequence of the refusal of the Government to grant reforms, and several attempts had been made on the Czar's life, gentle and tender-hearted though he was. In the cities through which his father, an acknowledged despot of far less tolerant views, had walked about unguarded by a single attendant, Alexander was menaced by the ever-present danger of assassination.

No fewer than six attempts, in all, were made upon his life ; the first in 1866, the second in Paris while on a visit to Napoleon III., and the remaining four while Lord Dufferin was Ambassador at St. Petersburg, the very last of these being fatal. Prince Krapotkin, Count Mezentsof, and Baron Heyking, had already fallen victims to the hands of the assassins, and on Lord Dufferin reaching his post, General Drenteln, the head of the Third Section, narrowly escaped a similar fate. A man on horseback rode past his carriage and fired into it, the bullet breaking both windows, but happily missing the General. The criminal escaped.

Notwithstanding these terrifying warnings, the Emperor continued his promenades unguarded and unattended, except by a single aide-de-camp. One forenoon Lord and Lady Dufferin were walking in the Winter Garden when, turning the corner of a solitary path, they suddenly came face to face with the Emperor, who was much amused at making the acquaintance of the new Ambassadress in this

unconventional manner, her formal presentation having been fixed for a later date.

A few days later, that is to say, on April 14th, 1879, the Emperor himself was attacked while returning to the Winter Palace on foot. Near the Ministry of Foreign Affairs a man passed by, saluted, and immediately afterwards began firing at the Emperor with a revolver. Luckily his Majesty was wearing a cloak at the time, and the day being windy the flapping about of the cloak disconcerted the assassin's aim, and enabled the monarch to dodge each shot. The perpetrator turned out to be a provincial schoolmaster named Alex. Solovieff. After that the Emperor had to be attended by police and military in his goings abroad, Count Louis Melikoff being appointed a sort of dictator for the interior. The Count, on one occasion when Lord Dufferin called upon him, showed the latter the back of his coat which had been furrowed by the pistol bullet of an assassin, the ball fortunately just missing the spine.

The next attempt was that famous one on December 1st, 1879, on the Royal train from Livadia to Moscow, when the engine was blown off the line, the luggage van capsized and two passenger carriages derailed. A tunnel had been dug from an adjoining house to a spot just below the metals where a mine was fired. As a rule the train containing the Imperial party went first, but on this occasion the baggage train preceded, and

the change of plan saved the Emperor's life. After the attempt the house was examined but found empty and the perpetrators were never discovered.

The still more terrible explosion at the Winter Palace took place about two and a half months later. Lord and Lady Dufferin were engaged to dine with General Chanzy, the French Ambassador, whose acquaintance the former had made in Syria, many years before. On their way to the French Embassy a loud explosion was heard. Among the guests already assembled there was M. de Giers, afterwards Minister for Foreign Affairs.[1]

Every one had heard the thunderous report which shook the whole town, but M. de Giers was probably the only person present who guessed its real character.

Lord Dufferin thus describes the incident of the explosion, which had taken place in the basement of the enormous Winter Palace, beneath the guard-room, where the soldiers of the Finland Regiment were dining.

The Royal guests assembled in the drawing-room that evening were, amongst others, the Duke and Duchess of Edinburgh, the latter and her husband being then on a visit to her father, several of the grand dukes and their wives, and Prince Alexander of Bulgaria, but owing to

[1] In his article in the Boston, Mass., *Youth's Companion*, obligingly communicated to me by Messrs. Perry, Mason & Co., Lord Dufferin thus speaks of M. de Giers, a personage often regarded over here as the *ne plus ultra* of Russian Anglophobism: "One of the most moderate, sensible, and straightforward statesmen I have ever known."

his being late, instead of the dinner beginning at seven, the entry of the party into the dining-room was delayed for some ten minutes.

Suddenly there came a blinding flash, followed by a roar such as might portend the day of judgment, the gas was extinguished, windows blown in, and all for a time was in darkness and dire confusion, but so far as the first floor was concerned no material damage was done either to the furniture or the fittings, and no one was hurt. . . .

In the centre of the hall below, a black chasm, occupying nearly the whole of its breadth and two-thirds of its length, yawned beneath the feet of the onlooker like a gigantic quarry. Dead bodies, torn limbs, and wounded men bathed in blood were lying about in all directions or had fallen into the abyss below. On one side a partition wall had been blown down, and the huge stones of the pavement had been hurled with unspeakable violence against the stone-vaulted roof of the apartment. Fortunately, the pillars which supported the structure remained intact, otherwise the whole of that part of the palace would have crumbled down and many more of its inmates would have perished.

Among the visitors were two friends of the Dufferins, Captain Haig and Miss Corry (sister of Lord Rowton), in attendance on the Duke and Duchess of Edinburgh; the premature death of Miss Corry being, no doubt, hastened by the nervous shock consequent on this terrible event.

Of the sixth and unhappily fatal attempt Lord Dufferin was almost an eye-witness. The good Czar had witnessed a parade of some four or five thousand men in a huge riding-school, and after exchanging a few words with Lord Dufferin, who was on horseback, the two parted, the former riding

off to his Embassy and the other getting into his brougham. The Czar was being driven along the Catherine Canal when a bomb exploded immediately below the carriage.

Splinters of the bomb or of the floor of the carriage must have slightly wounded the Emperor's lower limbs, for there were traces of blood on the seat. But the Emperor himself seems to have been unconscious of the injury, for ordering the coachman to stop, he got out and walked toward the assassin who, after vainly endeavouring to defend himself with a revolver, had been caught and pinioned by a bystander. His Majesty remarked to the head of the police, Colonel Dvorketsky, who had followed in a sleigh, "Voilà un joli monsieur!" An instant after another assassin standing in the little crowd that had collected flung down a second bomb at the Emperor's feet, and when the smoke had cleared away, both the thrower of the bomb, the Emperor, and sixteen other persons were seen lying on the ground, either dead, senseless or cruelly injured.

Lord Dufferin says:

> Had the Emperor followed what is the accepted rule in all cases of an *attentat* and driven straight home to his palace after the first explosion, instead of stopping to get out, he would have again escaped from the hands of his enemies: but when urged to do so, he replied, "No: I must see to the wounded."
>
> The effects of the explosion upon his Majesty's person were terrible. One leg was shattered to the top of the thigh; the other was severed below the knee, the abdomen was torn open and the poor corpse mutilated in other ways.

Thus perished in the prime of life, by one of the most useless and stupid crimes ever recorded in history, the liberator of the Serfs of Russia![1]

The focus of international politics was now to shift from St. Petersburg to Constantinople, and it was no small tribute to Dufferin's capacity and genius, that his guiding hand was again to pilot the ship of State in another venture, amid the rocks and quicksands of the Near Eastern question. With the Porte the problem of the hour was the transfer of Thessaly from Turkey to Greece, as recommended by the Berlin Congress. Considerable difficulty had arisen from Greece's immoderate demands. She was pressing on the cession of Crete and Epirus, as well as Thessaly, and even when the Great Powers had formulated suggestions for the transfer of the greater part, but not the whole, of the two mainland provinces, she still clamoured for the three important fortresses of Janina, Metzovi and Larissa, the keys of Albania, and the strategic defence of the Mussulman power in those parts.

This was the main Turkish question confronting the Powers of Europe; but the gathering thunderstorm in Egypt no doubt helped to persuade the Government of Mr. Gladstone that Lord Dufferin

[1] One cannot help comparing with the above, Mr. Seton Merriman's wonderfully graphic description, in "The Vultures," of the same incident. The novelist, however, makes the event as having occurred on March 12th, Lord Dufferin on March 13th. The latter is the correct date. It is said that on that very day the Czar had signed a ukase for various administrative reforms.

was the man to be deputed to the spot. His reception in audience by the Sultan has been picturesquely described by Mr. W. J. J. Spry, R.N., of H.M.S. *Antelope*.

On the appointed morning H. B. M.'s Ambassador, accompanied by a large and distinguished suite, embarked at Therapia on board the despatch boat *Antelope*, and passed pretty villages, mosques and minarets, Imperial palaces and harems, grand konaks of the Ministers, yalis of wealthy Greeks and Armenians, bright gardens all aglow with orange and lemon trees, and hundreds of variegated plants and flowers. As the city is neared, one approaches great ironclads flying Turkish colours, stately passenger ships of Lloyds, the Messageries and other companies, and bluff corn ships waiting to be off to Odessa or the Danube, lying side by side with Greek feluccas, Italian brigs, and Turkish coasting craft, while like dragon-flies, the caique of the Moslem waterman, and the steam-launch of the rich Effendi, flit here and there over the water.

The *Antelope* moored off the Dolma-Bagtche Palace, and all those who were to take part in the ceremony landed on the long flight of marble steps which descend from the colonnade to the sea. In the Guard-house the party was received by the Master of the Ceremonies, the Grand Chamberlain, and other officials, and was conducted to the Imperial State carriages.

Lord Dufferin in his Minister's uniform, and

wearing the sky-blue riband of a Knight of St. Patrick beside other orders and decorations, was seated with the Grand Chamberlain in an open laudau drawn by four horses, preceded by mounted cavasses and outriders. Eight similar carriages were provided for his suite, and the *cortège* drove off to Yildiz, a handsome palace of white stone, built in the Italian style on the summit of a hill, and surrounded with the loveliest of gardens. It commands a magnificent view of the Bosphorus and the Asiatic shore, while on the other side it overlooks Stamboul and Pera.

On approaching the palace a military band struck up the British National Anthem, and a guard of honour was drawn up at attention. The great iron gates flew open, and in a vestibule of the palace the party were received by Munir Bey, Grand Master of the Ceremonies, who with the Earl led the way, all following up a broad stairway, beautifully carpeted. Handsome oil paintings of battle and other scenes hung on the walls, and clocks and vases of great beauty stood on ornamental brackets and pedestals.

As soon as the Audience Chamber was reached, the suite took up its position, while his Excellency advanced and was presented by Munir Bey to the Sultan. His Imperial Majesty stood at the further end of the chamber: Assym Pasha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and other ministers in gorgeous uniforms and decorations were grouped around. The introduction was very cordial, and Lord

Dufferin addressed his Majesty as follows, speaking clearly and distinctly in French :

Her Majesty the Queen and Empress, my August Sovereign, has deigned to appoint me her Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to your Imperial Majesty, her friend and ally.

I have the distinguished honour of placing in the hands of your Imperial Majesty the letters which accredit me in that capacity to your Majesty's Court.

Having already visited the Ottoman Empire, it is with feelings of deep satisfaction that I again find myself in the capital of your Imperial Majesty, as the representative of a Power which sincerely desires the happiness of your Majesty's reign, and the well-being and prosperity of your Majesty's people.

The sentiments of harmony which inspire the relations between Turkey and Great Britain exist as they have done in the past. I venture to assure your Imperial Majesty that I shall spare no effort to bind more and more closely the ties of friendship which so happily unite the two countries.

Mr. Spry says that his Majesty seemed about forty years of age, was rather above the medium height, broad across the chest, wore both beard and moustache, and had a grave face lit up by keen, restless, and ever-watchful eyes. He spoke clearly and distinctly, without any such gestures as Orientals often indulge in : he was attired in the uniform of military Commander-in-Chief, with the green sash and decorations of the Imperial Orders of the Osmanieh and Medjidie.

When Lord Dufferin had reached the paragraph

that he would spare no effort to bind more closely the ties of friendship which so happily united the two countries, a pleasing smile flitted across the Sultan's features, his eyes sparkled and lighted up an otherwise triste and weary expression. Before he became Sultan he is reported to have been quite cheerful, but the cares of sovereignty had changed him sadly.

After his Majesty's reply (which was nothing but a short echo of the address), he desired that his Excellency would present his numerous suite, which was accordingly done. The Sultan wore a more pleased and friendly look as the proceedings went on. The ceremony over, all "backed out" of the Royal presence, except Lord Dufferin, who was summoned to a private audience which lasted an hour.[1] The suite repaired to an anteroom where sherbet and cigarettes were served, and the Englishmen were presented to Said Pasha, the Grand Vizier, Osman Pasha, the hero of Plevna, and many others. Before leaving, coffee was served in golden cup holders, mounted with diamonds. Mr. Spry was under the impression that in Abdul Aziz's time, these ornaments were retained as perquisites by the visitors, and his

[1] One of the most interesting accounts of an interview and conversation with Abdul Hamid is recorded in the late M. de Blowitz's little book, "Une course à Constantinople." (Paris, Librairie *Plon.*), 1884. It shows the Sultan's personal views and aims in his own words, and on the whole, in a reasonable light. The audience was secured for M. de Blowitz's through Lord Dufferin's personal intervention and good offices with the Sultan.

secret chagrin at seeing them carefully retrieved by the attendants was keen.

On another occasion our Ambassador's reception by the Sultan was of a less ceremonious and gorgeous character. Some of Lord Dufferin's spare time was occupied in sailing up and down the Bosphorus in a small cutter, *The Lady Hermione*, which he had himself designed, and used to navigate single-handed.[1] Not unfrequently he would jump on board his tiny craft, and seek relief from the worrying importunities of the Porte officials. But on one of the exciting and anxious days that preceded the bombardment of Alexandria, the Sultan sent in hot haste for the British Ambassador, and succeeded in intercepting him before he boarded his cutter. Lord Dufferin, as has been well remarked in a sympathetic obituary notice that appeared in *The Times*, ever showed great coolness and self-control at moments when a weaker man would have been excited and flurried, and on this occasion considerably astonished and impressed the Sultan by strolling up to the Palace in yachting costume, with an air of complete unconcern, as if he had come to pay an unceremonious friendly visit.

Social life at Therapia was undeniably pleasant,

[1] Mr. J. McFerran, C.I.E., Lord Dufferin's personal and private secretary, wrote a description of this craft, and I believe the account is included in the Library at Clandeboye. He was a faithful and esteemed friend of the family, and is interred in the circular Campo Santo at Clandeboye, near his beloved master, and the monument to the latter's eldest son.

Photo by] [*Sebah & Joaillier.*

BRITISH EMBASSY, THERAPIA.

[*To face p. 178.*

the lawn tennis ground, surrounded by groves of lovely trees, was an attraction to both sexes and diverse nationalities. Several of the residents were expert hands, and the Renshaws and other players of wide reputation put in an occasional appearance. A ball at the Italian Embassy gave opportunity for a novel cotillon, where the Ambassador of Great Britain with some other of his colleagues were harnessed with silken bonds and driven round the room, Lady ——, whip in hand, handling the ribbons. At a given signal, the steeds escaped from their reins, each secured a partner, and joined in the mazy, rythmic valse. Garden parties at the British, French and Persian Embassies, a paper chase at Therapia, another diplomatic ball, and a still more festive fancy-dress dance on board the *Antelope*, provided endless excitement for the European society. At the last-named, Lord Dufferin wore the garb of the County Down Hunt Club, and the Countess was attired as "Mrs. Sheridan" in Sir Joshua's picture, her costume being white, with a large Gainsborough hat trimmed with black and white plumes. There was a variety of other costumes of the most fascinating and brilliant description. Chinese mandarins in brocaded silks, Hungarian nobles with sumptuous furry jackets slung over their shoulders, Afghans and Japanese, while among the ladies were Grace Darling, Cherry *Un*ripe, Albanian, Bohemian, Greek and Russian *paysannes*, Dolly Varden, Ruth, Princess Sheherezade, Sophia Primrose,

a Tunisian lady, Olivette, and a crowd of other fascinating belles.

These agreeable scenes had to be relinquished towards the close of 1882 to enable the Ambassador, in his new capacity of High Commissioner for Egypt, to deal with the critical state of affairs in that country.

CHAPTER IX

THE MISSION TO EGYPT

THE POSITION ON SUPPRESSION OF REBELLION — MILITARY, POLITICAL AND JUDICIAL NEEDS—IRRIGATION—SURVEYS —THE SUDAN—GENERAL REFLECTIONS

EGYPT'S serious difficulties had undoubtedly been brought about, in the first instance, by the extravagance of Ismail. When he came to the throne in 1863, the Egyptian debt amounted to a little over three millions of pounds. By the end of 1876 it was already estimated at ninety-one millions, and in reality considerably exceeded this figure. During this same period the taxation of the land, the principal source of revenue, had increased about fifty per cent. The subsequent events, including the institution of the Caisse de la Dette, marking the era of international interference in the finances of the country, were followed by the Dual Control and the deposition of Ismail.

In 1875 impoverishment of the fellah had reached such a pitch that the ordinary resources of the country no longer sufficed for the most urgent necessities of the administration, and the Khedive, having repeatedly broken faith with his

creditors, could not raise any more loans in the European market. The taxes were habitually collected many months in advance, and the colossal floating debt was increasing rapidly.

It is unnecessary to trace step by step the events which led up to the military disturbances of 1881 and 1882. These belong rather to the history of Egypt, and have not only been frequently told, but are actually in the recollection of most educated persons, while Lord Milner's admirable work,[1] published ten years after, has supplied a picturesque and authoritative review of the early and momentous years of the British occupation that ensued.

Lord Dufferin's deputation as High Commissioner and share in this great task covered but a very short period of time, from November, 1882, to May, 1883, but the result was all-important. He arrived at Cairo within two months of Arabi's defeat, and yet already Egyptian affairs were getting into a decided tangle, especially in the matter of the trials of the rebel leaders. It is practically acknowledged that had the Khedive and Riaz Pasha, his Minister of the Interior, been allowed to have their own way, Arabi and his colleagues would have had short shrift meted out to them. But, thanks to Lord Dufferin's interposition, the capital sentences passed on them were commuted to banishment, and even that modified punishment has been since wiped out by the permission

[1] "England in Egypt," by Alfred Milner, late Under-Secretary for Finance in Egypt. (*Arnold*, 1892.)

accorded to the culprits to return from Ceylon, whither they were deported, to their mother country. The exercise of the prerogative of mercy was an undeniable relief to the public sentiment, both at home and on the Continent; it was followed by no untoward consequences, and was not misconstrued as an act of weakness.

The High Commissioner also vetoed the experiment which had already been set on foot of quelling the country by a foreign gendarmerie, recruited from all sorts of countries—viz., Asia Minor, Epirus, Austria, and Switzerland. Some of these, Albanians by nationality, had actually created a riot in Alexandria, and were accordingly disbanded, while the recruiting of other undesirables in Geneva and elsewhere was stopped.

Instead of the foregoing, a scheme for a reorganised Egyptian gendarmerie and police was drawn up by Lord Dufferin, Sir Archibald Alison, and Sir Edward Malet, and sanctioned by Lord Granville. The force had rather peculiar duties to discharge, owing to the proximity of the desert, and the necessity of controlling the wild Arab tribes that infested its borders. It had thus to be, in a measure, a mounted force, and invested with a semi-military character. At the same time, for economical and other reasons, it had to be trained to discharge the civil duties of a rural police. The total number of the gendarmes for 1883 was 4,400 men, with 2,562 horses, costing at the rate of about £29 for each mounted and

about £16 10*s.* for each unmounted man. The total effective civil force amounted to 7,757. Its administration was placed under the Minister of the Interior, and its command was entrusted to General Baker, with the title of Inspector-General.

The new *régime* in Egypt of course necessitated a complete change in the financial control, and at the request of the Egyptian Government the old "Dual Control" of 1879 was abolished. Instead thereof a European Financial Adviser was appointed, Sir Auckland Colvin being the first person nominated to the post. This change was soon followed by a very welcome circular from the new Minister of the Interior, peremptorily forbidding the application of the *kurbash*, or lash, which, in spite of orders, had till then continued to be used with horrible severity at the caprice of petty officials.

In the meantime the British Parliament was about to meet, and a general report from Lord Dufferin was anxiously looked for. It was of course too soon to expect a scheme of re-organisation, for it was not three months since the High Commissioner had arrived in Cairo, and his hours had been greatly occupied with current business. But, nevertheless, he found time to draw up some very masterly papers, one of which has achieved world-wide repute. It is dated February 6th, 1883,[1] and, as Lord Milner truly says, it is impossible for any one well acquainted with Egypt to read

[1] "Command Paper." Egypt, No. 6 (1883) C.—3529. The Report was translated into French and Arabic and part of it into Turkish.

those various despatches, of which the one specially referred to is the chief, without admiration.[1]

One of the earliest sentences strikes a note which dominates throughout this notable State paper. After reference to the circumstances of our intervention, it adds :

> Europe and the Egyptian people, whom we have undertaken to rescue from anarchy, have alike a right to require that our intervention should be beneficent and its results enduring ; that it should obviate all danger of future perturbation, and that it should be established on sure foundations, the principles of justice, liberty, and public happiness.

In spite of the evidence of history, Lord Dufferin was persuaded that it ought to be no difficult task to endow the Egyptian people with good government. The moment was propitious, and the territory of the Khedive had been recognised as lying outside the sphere of European warfare,

[1] "The writer's mastery of the subject is extraordinary. Behind all his formal civility to the misleading catchwords, the impracticable ideals, which he felt bound to treat with respect, there is a manly grasp of fact, and a clear appreciation of the essential needs of Egypt, and of the true remedies for her distress. No man knew better than Lord Dufferin that it was not paper constitutions, even of the most approved pattern, not emancipating decrees, even if glowing with the spirit of modern Liberalism, not courts or codes hastily copied from those of Western Europe, which could restore the prosperity of Egypt, and give her inhabitants either bread or justice. It was the slow, disagreeable work of reforming in detail, in the performance of daily duties, the several branches of the administration, until order should gradually be evolved from chaos, and until, under competent guides armed with adequate authority, native officials should gradually acquire the habits of energy, equity, self-reliance, and method."—"England in Egypt," p. 78.

while the protection of the Suez Canal had been declared to be an object of common solicitude. The fellahin race no longer occupied the same odious position to which foreign oligarchies had formerly consigned it, and several personages of that origin had been promoted to posts of honour and authority, while the fellahs themselves had showed unexpected signs of appreciation of their legitimate political interests and moral rights. There was, indeed, a strong belief in many quarters that order in Egypt could only continue to exist under the combined discipline of a couple of foreign schoolmasters, and the domestic *kurbash*, or, in other words, that the Egyptians were plainly incapable of managing their own affairs.

Lord Dufferin desired to press upon the British Government a more generous policy. The creation, within certain prudent limits, of representative institutions, of municipal and commercial self-government, and of political existence, untrammelled by external importunity, though aided, as it was obliged to be for a time, by sympathetic advice and assistance. No middle course was, in his opinion, possible.

The Egyptian Army had been disbanded by Khedival decree on September 19th, 1882. A new force of native Egyptians, some six thousand in number, was created to replace the others. The great temptation of a Ruler in the position of the Khedive would be, after the events of 1882, to surround himself with unnecessary troops, a

step which in all ages had been the resource of Oriental dynasties. Lord Dufferin had little difficulty in showing that it was far preferable to have recourse to such military aspirants as might be found among the Egyptians themselves; and the subsequent conduct of the native troops under Lord Kitchener has proved that the former was in no way mistaken. But as the officers were always the weak element in Egyptian armies, a leaven of English officers was introduced, and has since been increased. According to the "Statesman's Year Book," there are now (1902) about a hundred of our officers serving in the Egyptian Army.

In addition thereto there was, and still is, the British army of occupation of rather fewer men, towards which an annual contribution is made by the Egyptian Government. The total expense of the native army, police, and constabulary was estimated to amount to £E.519, 741, being actually £100,000 less than the votes for the same three services in the normal Budget of 1881.

Having arranged for the material security of the country, the next point was its political requirements. A paper constitution was useless, for the germs of constitutional freedom were non-existent. "Despotism," as Lord Dufferin pointed out in one of those picturesque but convincing metaphors that he knew so well how to handle, "not only destroys the seeds of liberty, but renders the soil on which it has trampled incapable

of growing the plant. A long enslaved nation instinctively craves for the strong hand of a master, rather than for a less constitutional *régime*, and a mild ruler is more likely to provoke contempt and insubordination than to inspire gratitude."

To use the phrase that is so often used about India, Egypt was not ripe for self-government, and had the fates decreed that Lord Dufferin's Viceroyalty of India had preceded his mission to Egypt, I have great doubts whether his statesman-like scheme for the tentative regeneration of the fellah would have been characterised by the same trustful liberalism that actually pervaded it. The air and the traditions of India are all dead against any experiments in the direction of representative government; and even so masculine an intellect as that of Lord Dufferin, might have ventured less confidence in the Oriental character, had he been compelled to form his opinions of the fellahin with the warnings of a benevolent, but still despotic Anglo-Indian bureaucracy ringing in his ears.

At the same time, it was clearly right to give the various native communities a choice of the person or persons with whom their suffrage might be deposited, and there may have arisen this consoling reflection that, however unfavourably such an experiment might turn out, it could not possibly prove worse than, or even so bad as the misgovernment and anarchy that had prevailed so far. Consequently the following institutions were devised :—

1. *Village Constituency.*—Composed of representatives of each circumscription, chosen by manhood suffrage and forming the depositories of the village vote.

2. *Provincial Councils* (varying in number from four to eight members).—Chosen by the spokesmen of the villages.

3. *The Legislative Council.*—Consisting of twenty-six members, of whom twelve are nominated by the Khedive on the advice of his Ministers, and sixteen are elected by the Provincial Councils.

4. *The General Assembly*—of eighty members, eight Ministers, sixteen Members of the Legislative Council, forty-six Delegates, elected by the spokesmen of the villages.

5. *Eight Ministers responsible to the Khedive.*

6. *H.H. the Khedive.*

The chief requirement of Egypt was undoubtedly justice. A true, cheap and simple system of justice would, as the High Commissioner pointed out, "prove more beneficial to the country than the largest constitutional privileges. The structure of society in the East is so simple, that provided the taxes are righteously assessed, it does not require much law-making to make the people happy, but the most elaborate legislation would fail to do so if the laws invented for them were not equitably enforced."

At that time (in 1883) there was no real justice. None of the occupants of the Bench in any of the Courts had legal training, and there were no

real laws to guide their proceedings. At one time the French codes were invoked, at another the regulations formerly in force before the old Mixed Tribunals, and at another the precepts of the Mohammedan religion. Accordingly, Lord Dufferin recommended the Egyptian Government to modify the Civil, Commercial, and Maritime Codes now in use by the International Courts, so as to adapt them as far as possible to the requirements of the people. To the Committee appointed in 1880, Nubar Pasha, Judge Hills, and Judge Moriondo were added, and with their assistance the existing codes were supplemented, enlarged, and amended. The most important feature, however, of the new project, consisted in the introduction into the indigenous tribunals of a European element—a change which was universally acknowledged to be absolutely essential. Arrangements were made for getting men of high character and training from the justiciaries of Holland, Belgium and Switzerland, and liberal salaries were attached to the posts. There was one European on the Bench of every *mudirieh* or Province (fourteen in number) and two in each Appeal Court (of which there were two, one for upper and one for lower Egypt). Lastly, a Privy Council Tribunal was added for important cases between the Egyptian Government and its subjects.

How far speedy success could be prophesied for the scheme was a very moot point, for the difficulties were plainly declared by Lord Dufferin to be

"enormous." But he had little doubt that initial obstacles would be eventually surmounted, and that the project of endowing the country with native justice would in time become a reality.

This hope has not been very speedily realised. Justice, in the narrow sense pertaining to the Egyptian Courts of law and their work, is still a branch of government from which British influence has been largely excluded. It was not until 1889, that our Government showed a serious interest in the condition of the Native Courts, which, more than any other Courts, concerned the happiness of the toiling millions; and it was only with the appointment of Mr. (now Sir John) Scott in 1890, that practical steps were taken to improve them. The whole story is well told in Lord Milner's book, and is a striking proof, with all our good faith and vigilance, how gross oppression and native corruption managed to thrive unseen under the ægis of our virtual protectorate. But there is every indication that now-a-days we are attaining the goal of Lord Dufferin's anticipations.

Irrigation has been a primal necessity for thousands of years in the basin of the Nile. Theoretically, that great vital artery contains the potential vivification of a far larger expanse than is benefited therefrom even at present. As Lord Milner says, an undreamt-of prosperity may await the land of the Pharaohs. It is all a question of water. But in 1883, the service was most inefficient, new works were required, and even more

urgent were the repairs of the existing works. Embankments against inundations during a high Nile required to be mended, the shoals deposited near the intakes of the main arteries needed dredging, and the removal of the annual accumulations of silt throughout the entire system was a crying want.

The repairs of the canals were executed by *corvée* or forced labour, which was utilised in a most wasteful and oppressive manner, five hundred men being liable to be called out for two or three weeks for work which three hundred men could finish in three days. And few of these poor creatures had picks, the majority having to delve with their own bare hands and fill the baskets with the loose earth and sharp stones. A report by an "M.P.", an eye-witness, quoted by Lord Dufferin, describes the excavation of a canal a mile long by forty thousand men, the entire forced labour of one province. These poor labourers worked from sunrise to sunset, with a brief spell of rest at midday for a meal consisting of bread supplied by their relations, dipped in the water of the Nile. They wore felt skull-caps on their heads, exactly like those represented as the workmen in the bas-reliefs of the fourth dynasty. Many were suffering from eye disease;[1] the heat at the

[1] Ophthalmia is terribly rife in Egypt and other hot, sandy climes. At a Mansion-House meeting I was present at in 1897, Mr. John Tweedy, F.R.C.S., gave some interesting particulars regarding the activity and virulence of the disease, and at the same time mentioned some remarkable statistics. When Napoleon landed in Egypt he had

bottom of the excavation was intense, while at night it was very cold and yet they had only the bare earth to sleep on and in the same calico rags they had worn during the day.

It was often spite, favouritism, or corruption which led to these unfortunate cultivators being dragged from their homes, and their neighbours left free and unmolested; so the bitterness of feeling engendered by such a system may be imagined, while from an economic point of view the cost of the *corvée* must have been prodigious, as it meant the annual withdrawal from agricultural work of from one hundred thousand to one hundred and thirty thousand men for a period varying from sixty to one hundred and twenty days.

In the distribution of water great abuses unfortunately prevailed. These arose chiefly from the arbitrary powers with which the engineers were entrusted, who regulated the construction of dams and sluices, and the erection of pumps. The pumping was done mainly by small portable steam

with him some thirty-two thousand troops. Within two months, so it was said, every one of those men was attacked with ophthalmia. During the English occupation of the country, at the beginning of the century, a similar disaster overtook our soldiers. Out of one battalion alone of seven hundred men there were six hundred and thirty-six cases of ophthalmia, ninety of these men being rendered blind of one or both eyes. In the campaign of 1882, though there was unhappily an outbreak of ophthalmia, thanks to the minute and careful precautions taken not a single man lost his sight. A more striking proof of the beneficial effect of modern surgical and medical science could scarcely be found. It is gratifying to see that Sir E. Cassel has just devoted a large sum of money towards the investigation and extirpation of this fearful disease.

engines, owned by capitalists who sold the water. One man alone was said to be making fifteen thousand pounds a year by this means, and people like that were naturally interested in opposing any improved canalisation which would mean the spontaneous flow of water over the adjoining fields.

Lord Dufferin's principal remedy for this was to seek a thoroughly experienced and competent irrigation engineer as chief of the department, with the assistance of a staff of trustworthy inspectors. To this officer was to be entrusted the repair of old works, the erection of pumps, the distribution of water and the employment of labour, including the dismissal of incompetent and untrustworthy employés. He would also advise as to the construction of new works ; in concert with the Mudirs and Provincial Generals he would regulate the *corvée* so as to obtain a maximum of work with a minimum of inconvenience to the peasantry, and would inquire through the agency of his Inspectors into any complaint of unfair distribution of water.

Of course such an officer was bound to encounter difficulties and opposition. The rich landed proprietors, the owners of pumps, the regulators of the *corvée* and everybody who made money out of the existing discreditable condition of affairs, had a strong vested interest in its continuance. But by all who remembered the rainless character of Egypt and its complete dependence on the Nile for its existence and wealth, the enormous

importance of a complete reform of the irrigation system was better appreciated.

Indian engineers were summoned to Egypt in 1883 and 1884, and out of an incredible tangle of blunders and corruption, order and progress were gradually evolved. The successive triumphs won by Sir Colin Scott Moncrieff and his able adjutants not only diminished the maintenance cost of the old works, but, by making them more efficient, largely increased the productiveness of the country. The restoration of the barrage at the apex of the Delta in 1891, and the recent completion of the Assiut barrage and the Assuan dam are three great achievements which have worthily crowned the indefatigable labours of this useful department.

Another embarrassing question was the disposal of the Daira Sanieh and Domains, vast properties consisting of about one-fifth of the whole cultivated land of Egypt, and formerly belonging to the Khedive and his family. It is beyond the scope of this biographical sketch to review, in any detail, the steps gradually taken to diminish the enormous incubus of debt which had been contracted on the security of these lands, and on which the State had covenanted to pay interest. Lord Dufferin saw clearly that the only feasible course was to get the lands sold and replaced in the occupation of the cultivators of the community; and this is the plan actually pursued, though it will be two years before the Daira and Domains Commissions are abolished.

In a long catalogue of departmental misgovernment it would have been strange indeed if the highly technical business of land surveys had not figured. Cadastral surveys have in many countries had to undergo incessant modifications according to the ideas of professional or administrative theorists, and the field of experiment in Egypt formed no exception from the general rule. The cost had been excessive and the results small. The requirements were, of course, no different from those of most other countries, viz., (1) a topographical map of the country based upon proper triangulation for administrative and engineering purposes; and (2) a cadastral survey to insure proper levy of land tax, to facilitate the transfer of land, and to register and secure landed rights.

A good survey combines both, but when we reflect that for many years such a combination was never attempted in India, we can hardly be surprised that its advantages were not immediately perceived in Egypt. In 1881 Mr. Gibson, a Superintendent of Revenue Surveys in India, was appointed, and after careful study of the whole question he submitted a scheme which appears to have been that eventually adopted.

One of the most serious and distressing subjects connected with the social condition of the country was the enormously increased indebtedness of the fellahin. The problem here was not very different from that in India, where, under native rule, the creditor received little or no assistance in recovering

Photo by] [*M. Bonfils.*

AN EGYPTIAN CULTIVATOR.

[*To face p.* 196.

his debts, and resorted to ordinary methods of dunning; to fasting before the debter's door (when those within the house are in honour bound to follow his example); and in extreme cases to suicide with the view of involving the defaulter in blood-guiltiness.

The Egyptian peasants maintain that in former days the creditor was not armed with the power of foreclosing and expropriating the debtor from his holding, nor under Mohammedan law could the case go against him by default. But just as in India the introduction of British Codes invested the creditor with new powers, so in Egypt the International Tribunals have on the one hand stimulated the fellah's borrowing instincts by constituting his holding a legal security, and on the other they have armed the mortgagee with far too ready and extensive powers of selling up the encumbered owner.

The consequence of adapting the Procrustean laws of the West to the utterly unsuited conditions of the East, was that within six years the mortgage debts of the fellahin had risen in round numbers from less than £500,000 to £5,000,000, a vast proportion of this representing accumulated interest at thirty-six per cent. per annum! The Egyptian peasant does not look forward, and, like a child, is prone to gratify his immediate desires at any sacrifice. As a consequence he is enticed into most imprudent arrangements, which eventually lead to his ruin and expropriation, the procedure of the Mixed Tribunals unduly favouring the interests of the mortgagees. Lord Dufferin's suggestions for remedying this crying evil was the

establishment of Agricultural Banks,[1] assisted by Government, the working capital of which would be found by local capitalists, or the utilisation of the Crédit Foncier, supported by the guarantee of Government and converted practically into a department of Government.

An important question, growing out of the foregoing, was how far the assessment of the land tax, which represented an annuity about £E500,000, could be considered as compatible with the well-being of the cultivators. Lord Dufferin was of opinion that the inequalities of assessment, and consequent dissatisfaction, were glaring, and that the decreasing fertility of the soil, from over-cropping and from the growing scarcity of the water supply, was rapidly reducing the value of the land, and rendering the assessment unduly onerous.

The suggested relief, however, came from a different quarter. It was the *corvée*, or forced labour, which pressed most hardly on the fellah. On this great grievance the Dufferin Report scarcely touched, for its author was of opinion that it was one of those laws which, having existed for thousands of years, was accepted as a sort of providential dispensation, not open to question, and practically impossible to abolish altogether. Lord

[1] An exhaustive and interesting work on People's Banks has been written by Mr. Henry W. Wolff. (*P. S. King*: second edition, 1890). It deals more particularly with co-operative banks in France, Germany, Italy, and Switzerland, but the principles and experience are of course of far wider application, and it is truly, as its author claims, a "record of social and economical success."

Dufferin could perhaps hardly have dared to anticipate the fortunate concurrence of favourable conditions which enabled Nubar Pasha and Riaz Pasha to initiate and finally to carry through the means for the eventual abolition of this detestable and ruinous institution.

Education was always a hobby of Lord Dufferin —as witness his numerous speeches in Canada—and it naturally attracted his special attention in Egypt. There were, indeed, lower and upper primary schools, a high school in Cairo, a variety of technical and professional schools, foreign mission schools, and the world-famous El-Azhar University, but the results in most cases were far from satisfactory. *Primâ facie* the Egyptians ought to be the most thoroughly educated people on the face of the earth. Unfortunately the contrary was the case.

The Egyptian boy is naturally precocious, and has a special aptitude for languages and mathematics, but having arrived at a certain stage, he no longer continues to make a proportionate progress in the higher branches of study. Early marriage is one of the chief influences which wean him from the pursuit of learning, many of the young students who sit upon the school benches having already taken upon themselves the responsibilities of a wife. Defective sight[1] is another frequent impediment to advancement.

It is probably in this department that Egypt has made the least striking progress. Lord Dufferin was, indeed, careful to lay his finger on

[1] See Note, page 192.

the principal defects of each class of schools, one general and crying need being a body of qualified Inspectors, with an Inspector-General at the head. Even Lord Milner seems to confess that educational reform has been of slow growth, though he claims that there is no branch of Government where of late years the spirit of reform has borne richer fruit. But he adds truly enough, that people had to live before they could be taught, and that famine was worse than ignorance. What the Government had to fight for in 1882-3 was the very existence of the people, the defence of person and property, the maintenance of justice, and the efficient preservation of those public works upon which life depended. Since then the task has been the careful but slow process of putting new wine into old bottles.

One of the most astonishing abuses which confronted Lord Dufferin was the enormous number of the salaried officials. Every Pasha had a number of adherents who looked to him for favours, and whose importunity he had no compunction in rewarding at the expense of the State. The total number of natives in the Civil Service in 1883 was fifty-three thousand, costing rather more than one and a half million pounds (Egyptian). Lord Dufferin declared that if one-third of these men were dismissed there and then, the work of the Ministries they encumbered would be all the more efficiently performed.

The number of European employés was one thousand and fifty-four at the end of 1882; one

hundred and forty being English, one hundred Maltese (under English protection), two hundred and forty French, three hundred Italians, one hundred and four Greeks, eighty Austrians, and thirty-five Germans. Their entire salaries came to £305,000, so that the Europeans represented two per cent. of the total number and fifteen per cent. of the total cost.

These as well as the natives required to be reduced in number, and Lord Dufferin's remedy was a competent Commission, whose duty it would be to study the requirements of each department and determine the number of its staff, as well as reduce the extravagant liberality of the Pension Code. But at the same time he gave emphatic warning against any concession to the unreasonable cry for getting rid of a large proportion of the Europeans. For some time to come it was clear that European assistance in the various departments would be absolutely necessary. Were they withdrawn the whole machinery of government would fall into inextricable confusion. "It is frightful to contemplate," remarked Lord Dufferin, "the misery and misfortune which would be entailed on the population, were the Financial, the Public Works, and analogous departments to be left ungarrisoned by a few high-minded European officials. The Government would quickly become a prey to dishonest speculators, ruinous contracts, and delusive engineering operations from which they are now protected by intelligent and capable men.

But apart from the material benefits conferred by the assistance of Europeans . . . they are establishing a standard of integrity, zeal, and efficiency, which we may hope will eventually be permanently consolidated in all the departments of the State."

As regards the Sudan, which at that time was in the thrall of the Mahdi, Lord Dufferin was unable to write confidently or hopefully. But he was opposed to the ideas then rife in some quarters, that Egypt should withdraw from thence, and reminded his Government that the basin of the Upper Nile was capable of producing inexhaustible supplies of sugar and cotton. He felt himself, however, bound to remark, that Egyptian administration in the Sudan had been almost uniformly unfortunate.[1] They had lost about nine thousand men in the preceding year and a half, while it was estimated that forty thousand of their opponents had perished. Reinforcements to the extent of ten thousand men had been despatched to Khartoum, but these seemed to be raw, undisciplined men. In the meantime Egyptian garrisons at various scattered posts were cut off from communication with their base. Colonel Hicks, a distinguished retired Indian officer, had joined the army, and been deputed by the Egyptian Government as chief of the staff, but this was not done with Lord Dufferin's concurrence.

[1] One rather conspicuous exception occurs to me, *i.e.*, Lupton Bey's administration of the Bahr el Ghazal province, which was financially a success, and would have ranked still more brilliantly had its governor been better supported from Cairo.

It is noteworthy that Lord Dufferin's first suggestions towards the habilitation of the Sudan was a railway from Suakin to Berber, or perhaps to Shendy on the Nile. This has never been carried out and is admittedly as urgent now as it was then.[1] The cost was estimated then at only a million and a half, and I need hardly remark that, had Lord Dufferin's suggestion been acted upon at the time, it would have profoundly modified subsequent history, for even if Hicks's disaster had not been averted, Gordon's mission would have had a different ending.

The completion of this enterprise would at once change all the elements of the problem. Instead of being a burden on the Egyptian Exchequer, these equatorial provinces ought to become, with anything like good management, a source of wealth to the Government. What has hitherto prevented their development has been the difficulty of getting machinery into the country, and of conveying its cotton, sugar, and other natural products to the sea. The finances of the Sudan once rehabilitated, the Provincial Administration would no longer be forced to visit its subjects with those heavy exactions which have been in all probability at the bottom of the present disturbances, and the natural expansion of commerce would eventually extend the benefits of civilisation for some distance through the surrounding regions. I apprehend, however, that it would be wise upon the part of Egypt to abandon Darfur, and perhaps part of

[1] In Lord Cromer's Report (1903) he remarks: "The construction of the Suakin-Berber Railway is absolutely essential to the well-being of the Sudan. All the testimony which I received during my recent visit to the Sudan strongly confirmed me in the opinion which I had previously held on this subject."

Kordofan, and to be content with maintaining her jurisdiction in the Provinces of Khartoum and Sennaar.

The construction of the railway, supplemented by roads, would have also been useful in the suppression of the slave trade, which was another matter anxiously considered by Lord Dufferin. A Convention had been entered into between England and Egypt in 1877, but in various respects it needed amendment. One weak point was that, though it defined certain offences and provided for their trial, it did not specify the punishment. The result was that the sentences pronounced by the special tribunals were, as a rule, inadequate. The Manumission Bureaux had done good work at slight expense, and in five years over eight thousand slaves had been set free. But the disposal of the slaves had not proved satisfactory, and the Red Sea Service had been a failure and had to be suppressed. The effect of the Bureaux had brought home to every male slave that he could obtain his freedom whenever he liked. The female slaves, owing to the seclusion of harem life, were not so well informed as to their legal status. But, on the whole, the slaves were well treated, and perhaps better cared for than domestic servants in England. Unfortunately, in the Sudan, slavery, though checked, was still universally prevalent. The mutilation of children was still carried on, and since General Gordon's departure no punishments had been inflicted sufficiently heavy to deter the slave traders from their nefarious practices.

Lord Dufferin proposed, therefore, the conclusion of a new Convention between the two countries according to which slavery would entirely cease in Egypt and its dependencies some years after the date of signature. Various detailed reforms were also indicated so as to further the great work in view. No good, however, could be effected, as Lord Dufferin truly remarked, unless the Egyptian Government was made to realise that in the question of the suppression of the slave trade England was in earnest, and until the employés, from the Governor-General downwards, were made to feel that their interest lay in checking, not in encouraging, slavery and the slave trade.

Other minor but still important topics claimed and received attention in the same Report. Lord Dufferin was in favour of endowing the Mixed International Tribunals with a criminal jurisdiction over foreigners, whose numbers had for years been increasing fast. As far as he could ascertain, the courts in question were perfectly competent to exercise the jurisdiction. In respect of Commercial Conventions, the Egyptian Government contended that its right to conclude such agreements ought not to be contested, as it was by some of the Powers, notably by the Porte and by France. This disability was particularly felt in the matter of the Customs, which were regulated by the treaties concluded between the Porte and the Foreign Powers in 1861 and 1862, and which

were made without any regard to the special commercial requirements of Egypt. The loss to the Egyptian revenue in consequence of its dependence on the Turkish Custom regulations in the respects referred to amounted to about £200,000 per annum, a sum equivalent to more than a fourth of the Customs revenues of the country. Litigation and smuggling would also be diminished by such a reform, and its total benefit to the Egyptian Treasury was estimated at not less than £30,000 per annum.

Lord Dufferin also drew attention to the exemption of foreigners from taxation,[1] a state of things which begot a sense of injustice in the native mind. It was one of various grievances which would have been remedied had not the Egyptian Government laboured under the disadvantage, in its relations with foreign Powers, of not having any Agents of its own through whom to press its complaints.

While enumerating all the above needs, Lord Dufferin did not omit to acknowledge that sincere efforts had been made by the Egyptian Government during the preceding three years to improve the administration of the country. The Com-

[1] This, by-the-bye, prevails at the Treaty Ports in China, and may have to be redressed in favour of the native Chinese taxpayer at some not distant date. At present the European residents there are very inadequately taxed. I am not quoting only from my own observation in China, but mainly from that of the late Chinese Minister in London, who had gone into the matter most carefully, and held strong views thereon, as he explained to me more than once.

mission of Inquiry instituted in 1878 had specified various points as needing urgent attention, and considerable parts of their programme had been carried out. The taxes were at last levied under due authority only. Every peasant knew exactly what and when he had to pay, the collection of the land revenue was closely followed and controlled by the Minister of Finance. Great progress had been made in perfecting the system of accounts. Budgets were punctually submitted, and strictly observed. The Government had an account current with the Imperial Ottoman Bank which enabled it temporarily to meet, if need be, current expenditure instead of forestalling the taxes. Twenty-nine taxes, yielding in all a revenue of £377,308, had, either in part or in whole, been abolished as vexatious, while the land revenue had been increased by £150,000 levied on the *Oochuri* or privileged lands.

It is beyond the scope of this book to give the figures of the Budget, but it is interesting to note that, excluding the Daira and Domains income and charge from both sides of the account, the total actual debt of Egypt in 1883 was 79½ millions, and that out of a total income of 8½ millions, Egypt paid something less than 3¾ to her creditors. At the present day, though the debt (exclusive of the Daira and Domains loans) is over 93 millions, the charge is under 3½ millions, while the revenue has risen to over 11 millions.

In an eloquent conclusion Lord Dufferin summed

up the situation with a view towards considering how things would work. He remarked :

Had I been commissioned to place affairs in Egypt on the footing of an Indian subject State, the outlook would have been different. The masterful hand of a Resident would have quickly bent everything to his will, and in the space of five years we should have greatly added to the material wealth and well-being of the country by the extension of its cultivated area and the consequent expansion of its revenue; by the partial, if not the total, abolition of the *corvée* and slavery, the establishment of justice and other beneficent reforms. But the Egyptians would have justly considered these advantages as dearly purchased at the expense of their domestic independence. Moreover, her Majesty's Government and the public opinion of England have pronounced against such an alternative. But though it be our fixed determination that the new *régime* shall not surcharge us with the responsibility of permanently administering the country, whether directly or indirectly, it is absolutely necessary to prevent the fabric we have raised from tumbling to the ground the moment our sustaining hand is withdrawn. Such a catastrophe would be the signal for the return of confusion to this country and renewed discord in Europe. At the present moment we are labouring in the interests of the world at large. The desideratum of every one is an Egypt peaceful, prosperous, and contented, able to pay its debts, capable of maintaining order along the Canal, and offering no excuse in the troubled condition of its affairs for interference from outside. France, Turkey, every European Power, must be as anxious as ourselves for the attainment of these results, nor can they be jealous of the means we take to secure them.

After referring to the creation of representative institutions in the country, to the necessity of

giving these a free and fair trial, and of furnishing the persons who had staked their future on the existence of the Government with some guarantee that it would endure, the despatch continued :

How can we expect men born under a ruthless despotism to embark on the duties of an Opposition—which is the vital spark of constitutional government—to criticise, condemn and countervail the powers that be, if to-morrow the ark of the Constitution to which they trusted is to break into fragments beneath their feet? Amid the applause of the Liberal world a Parliament was called into existence at Constantinople; a few months later it disappeared, and its champion and fugleman is now languishing in the dungeons of Taïf. Unless they are convinced that we intend to shield and foster the system we have established, it will be vain to expect the timid politicians of the East to identify themselves with its existence. But even this will not be enough. We must also provide that the tasks entrusted to the new political apparatus do not overtax its untried strength. The situation of the country is too critical, the problems immediately pressing on the attention of its rulers are too vital to be tampered with, even in the interests of political philosophy. Various circumstances have combined to render the actual condition of the Egyptian fellah extremely precarious. His relations with his European creditors are becoming dangerously strained. The agriculture of the country is rapidly deteriorating, the soil having become exhausted by over-cropping and other causes. The labour of the *corvée* is no longer equal to the cleansing of the canals. As a consequence the desert is entrenching on the cultivated land, and unless some remedy be quickly found, the finances of the country will be compromised. With such an accumulation of difficulties, native statesmanship, even though supplemented by the new-born

institutions, will hardly be able to cope, unless assisted for a time by our sympathy and guidance. . . . We can hardly consider the work of re-organisation complete, or the responsibilities imposed upon us by circumstances adequately discharged, until we have seen Egypt shake herself free from the initial embarrassments which I have enumerated. This point of departure once attained, we can bid her God-speed with a clear conscience, and may fairly claim the approbation of Europe for having completed a labour which every one desired to see accomplished, though no one was willing to undertake it but ourselves. Even then the stability of our handiwork will not be assured unless it is clearly understood by all concerned that no subversive influence will intervene between England and the Egypt she has re-created.

Looking back from our present standpoint on the lengthy and thoughtful despatch, which I have imperfectly summarised, the reflection arises, Did Lord Dufferin underrate the difficulties of the task which he reviewed, and was he unduly optimistic in his forecast? Lord Milner acknowledges that Lord Dufferin left the country in May, 1883, amid a shower of congratulations, for the fair vision of a reformed and autonomous Egypt seemed, after all, not to be so very difficult to realise. But he adds that Lord Dufferin certainly glossed over the deep-rooted obstacles which his scheme of reform was bound to encounter, and, above all, the length of time which would be required to accomplish it. And that he concealed from both parties the disagreeable side of the business—from the Egyptians the long period of irksome control and

training through which they would have to pass on their road to a civilised independence; from the English the corresponding period of close attention to the affairs of Egypt and the effort, anxiety, and risk which such attention involved.

Lord Milner wrote with the memory of his own anxious and wearisome duties as Under-Secretary for Finance still weighing heavily upon him, and it was natural that he should be tempted to contrast the many years' toil of those who had undergone on the spot the heat and burden of the actual work of reform, with the programme outlined in Lord Dufferin's easy and eloquent periods. But this comparison makes scanty allowance for the two gigantic disasters which it was impossible to foresee, and which befel Egypt in the very year of Lord Dufferin's departure, viz., the cholera epidemic, and the annihilation of Hicks Pasha's army in Kordofan. Lord Milner does, indeed, refer to these as evidence of the dramatic disappointment which awaited Egypt's hopeful well-wishers. But the fact for which he does not make adequate allowance, appears to me to be this, that it was not permitted to Lord Dufferin to watch over, water, prune and tend the plant on whose critical condition and future growth he was called to advise. Or, if I may be forgiven another simile, his was the part of the distinguished specialist who is hurriedly commissioned to prescribe for an urgent malady. The case needs as much care in the after treatment as in the original

diagnosis, and it is rather a tribute to the merits of the physican than otherwise, that he should be unable to devote his continued energies to the patient's complete restoration to health. The public needs could ill-spare Lord Dufferin's detention over one case, while even larger Imperial questions required his attention elsewhere.[1]

[1] While these pages are passing through the press, Lord Cromer's Reports on Egypt and the Sudan have come to hand, showing in the case of the former that during the last twenty years' taxation to the extent of about £E1,600,000 annually has been remitted, and that the rate of taxation per head of population has sunk from about a guinea in 1882 to sixteen shillings in 1902.

CHAPTER X

THE INDIAN VICEROYALTY

LORD RIPON'S DEPARTURE—AFGHAN BOUNDARY DEMARCATION —FEELING BETWEEN BRITAIN AND RUSSIA—AMIR'S VISIT TO VICEROY—PENJDEH SENSATION

IN the Autumn of 1884, while serving as British Ambassador in Constantinople, whither he had returned from Cairo, Lord Dufferin received intimation that he had been nominated to succeed Lord Ripon as Viceroy of India, and on November 13th of that year he sailed from London for Bombay accompanied by Lady Dufferin, Lady Helen Blackwood, and several members of his personal staff. On his way to India, Lord Dufferin was busy, as might be surmised by any one conversant with his character and habits. The Bengal Tenancy Bill, amongst other matters, had been specially commended to his notice by the Secretary of State, and he mastered these and other papers *en route*. But he also made time to read Mr. Bosworth Smith's "Life of Lord Lawrence" in two volumes, and took the opportunity, after perusal, to write a very deserved and

gratifying letter to the author, which the latter has kindly placed at my disposal.

S.S. "Tasmania,"
November 27th, 1884,
Suez.

My dear Mr. Bosworth Smith,—

I cannot refrain from writing you a line of thanks for the extraordinary pleasure and profit I have derived from your Life of Lord Lawrence. It is one of the best biographies I have ever read in my life, giving such a clear picture of your hero in such strong and bold outlines, and accompanied by so many details which enhance the charm and individuality of the character without either confusing the narrative or the image you have presented to us. But what a subject it is with which you have had to deal! What simplicity, strength and majesty were in the man, and how unfailing, unswerving and unresting was his sense of duty! And again, how dramatic his gradual ascencion (*sic*)[1] to the place appointed for him, and the unfolding of the scenes in the Punjab, as they led up to the crisis at Delhi! It has quite appalled me, too, to think that I should have been called upon to sit on that throne which was once filled by so imperial a figure. However, I will do my best to follow in his footsteps, and to profit by the landmarks he has erected for all time to guide his less experienced successors.

I hope you will forgive me for troubling you with these lines, but I could not help liberating my soul on shutting up your beautiful volumes.

Yours very sincerely,
Dufferin.

The party arrived at Bombay on the 8th and at Calcutta on December 11th, and was received by the retiring Viceroy with all the etiquette accom-

[1] I believe there is authority for this old spelling.

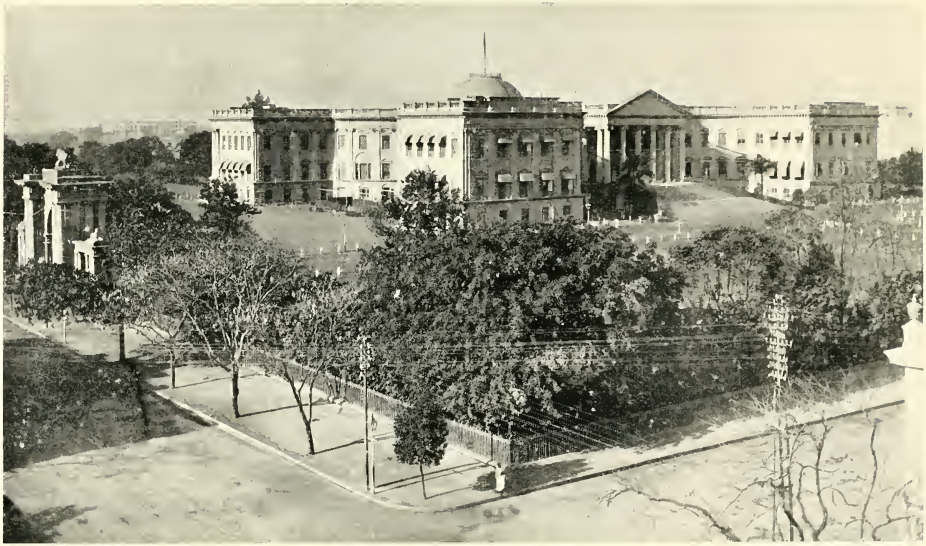

Photo by] [*Bourne & Shepherd.*

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, CALCUTTA.

[*To face p.* 214.

panying the quinquennial exchange of India's rulers. On the very day of Lord Ripon's departure, Lord Dufferin wrote about his predecessor to the Secretary of State :

He has been most kind in doing everything he could to instruct me upon all outstanding public questions, and I have been struck by the moderation, the good sense, the justice of his views, and above all by his magnanimity ; for in spite of the harsh treatment he has received, he spoke of no one with the slightest bitterness. I accompanied him to the train this morning, when a large number of natives assembled in the street and clapped and cheered him as he passed. He is to receive innumerable addresses on his journey to Bombay, where a grand reception awaits him. No Viceroy probably has ever left India amidst such general and genuine expression of goodwill on the part of the Indian population ; and I am glad to find I shall have no difficulty in following the general lines of his policy. The only respect in which I may hesitate to copy his example for the present will be in the frequency of his popular addresses. Their liberal ring irritated the Anglo-Indian mind. The Colony is easily frightened. They imagined him intent on undermining their prestige, and the applause of the natives gave a sinister point to very innocent expressions. For fear the natives might suspect I was disposed to discontinue, if not to reverse Ripon's friendly policy, I took the earliest opportunity of paying him some well-deserved compliments. In reply to one or two addresses I specially declared my intention to foster his scheme of local self-government, and on arriving in Calcutta, I referred to the principle of continuity as being a chief characteristic of our rule, and to the loyal manner in which each successive Viceroy had endeavoured to carry to a successful issue whatever projects had been conceived for the good of the people by those who had gone before him.

I have no doubt that the British Colony will be glad of the opportunity I propose to offer to them of making their peace with Government House. As they are at heart, like the rest of their countrymen, reasonable and good-natured men, there is a fair prospect of our getting our parti-coloured team to jog along together in peace and good fellowship.

I have ventured to quote this charming note at length, firstly because it seems to me a remarkably discerning as well as tactful letter for one who had been only a few days in the country, and secondly, because Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace, his private secretary, assures us that the policy sketched out in this letter continued to be, so far as internal affairs were concerned for his four years viceroyalty, the key-stone of Lord Dufferin's administration. Also I may mention I drew Lord Dufferin's own attention to the fact that I proposed to publish the letter in my biography, and that he laughingly said he did not think it would do any harm.

His predecessor, with his wonted industry, had been working up to the very last, and left no arrears, but there was one large question still unsettled. As Sir Alfred Lyall has remarked in his article in the *Edinburgh Review* of January, 1889, Lord Ripon had, after his successful settlement of Afghan affairs turned his attention to the agrarian questions of two important provinces, and the Bengal Tenancy Bill was in 1884 still in embryo. Lord Dufferin had been specially

warned before he left England that he would have to take this up. He had accordingly taken the opportunity to study the subject on his way out, and on his arrival was prepared to deal with it. Speaking shortly, it may be mentioned that the measure grew out of the recommendations of the Indian Famine Commission. Although the landlords considered the measure as essentially a Tenant's Bill, while the tenants' representatives spoke of it as intended to subserve the interests of the landlords, and although the debate lasted some days, the Bill passed without a division on March 12th, 1885.

In the meantime, there was a most important question of foreign policy which was then coming urgently to the front—the demarcation of the northern frontier of Afghanistan. Its approximate alignment had been roughly indicated in the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1872–3, as coinciding with the course of the Oxus River from its supposed source in Lake Victoria in the Pamirs, to Khojah Saleh, whence it ran south-west across the desert to the Hari Rud River. The latter portion, however, being independent of any natural feature, naturally required to be settled and artificially demarcated.

Arrangements were made for a joint Anglo-Russian Commission to go over the ground together with an Afghan representative, and decide which way the boundary was to run, and General Sir P. S. Lumsden was given command of the English

party, Colonel (now Sir J.) Ridgeway being second in command, The former proceeded to the spot from Europe, while Colonel Ridgeway, with the body of the mission left India in September 1884, for the purpose of joining his Chief. The Mission consisted not only of political officers, but also of a small body of Survey Officers and an escort of four hundred and fifty native troops. It arrived at Kuhsan near Herat on November 17th, 1884, where two days later it was joined by Sir Peter Lumsden. Owing to the Amir's objection to allow the British Officers to travel along the natural route through Candahar and Herat, they had to traverse that most desolate region south of the Helmand River; but the topographical information was certainly of great value, for some day the railway connecting India with the West will have to pass hereabouts.

Russia did not, however, display anxiety to fulfil her part of the demarcation agreement. When it came to carrying out her promises, the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, who had agreed in principle to the proposed arrangements, began to display a wish to back out, while all the time they were pushing troops forward. On one excuse or another the arrival of the Russian Emissaries was postponed, and the British Mission had to go into winter quarters (1884-5), and occupy their time by collecting all the topographical, ethnical, and political information about this rather obscure region.

Such was the position at the time of Lord

Dufferin's arrival in India, and it was by no means destitute of anxieties. The view taken by the India Office was that Russia's attitude was unfriendly if not menacing, and that though she might not be intent on picking a quarrel with us, there was considerable danger of a collision between her officers and those of the Amir. Some lively correspondence had taken place between General Alikhanoff (a rather notorious, hot-headed Russian Officer), and an Afghan brigadier, and, referring to this, the Viceroy wrote: "If Russian officers display so insolent a spirit on the one hand, and the Afghan Chiefs show their resentment in an equally excited manner, a collision may occur any day."

The negotiations were carried on directly between London and St. Petersburg, and as there was good ground to suspect that Russia was aiming not only at obtaining a good defensible frontier, but a basis for future aggression, the question obviously became an Imperial one. India's task was thus to represent her interests and to show how she could help in the event of war, one important factor being the attitude of the Amir, who had to be handled with an extremely light and tactful hand. The general situation was indicated from the Indian point of view in a letter from the Viceroy to the Secretary of State, dated February 10th, 1885. This admirably reasoned paper, too long for quotation, reviewed the Russian boundary proposals.

In order to make these better understood, I may explain that in most maps up to that time, the north-western portion of Afghanistan had been shown as a straight line running across the desert towards Sarakhs, which was the extreme north-eastern point of the Persian Province of Khorasan, and a meeting point for the three T-shaped frontiers.

But this simple interpretation of the old agreement in no way commended itself to Russia at present. Shortly, she proposed that her sphere or rule should not only cross the Turkoman desert, but be established in the fertile zone of Afghanistan, which is watered by the streams coursing down the northern slopes of the Paropamisus. This, of course, would give her an extremely valuable strategic base for future movements, which, if displeasing to the Amir and unresented by Great Britain, would probably end in his making common cause with his northern neighbour.

Mr. (now Sir Mortimer) Durand was then Lord Dufferin's Foreign Secretary. He held a serious and determined opinion that the Russians ought to be offered the alternative of a line drawn from Khojah-Saleh to Pul-i-khatun ("the lady's bridge"), some forty or fifty miles further south on the Hari-Rud than Sarakhs was. As a matter of fact the line was eventually traced in zig-zag fashion to Zulfikar, some thirty miles still further to the south.

Lord Dufferin's idea was that, from an Indian

point of view, it was better to make almost any sacrifice, and even to face the extremity of war, rather than agree to a frontier which would turn the Amir against Great Britain, and place the Russians in a favourable position for future aggressions; but that from an Imperial point of view it would be better to accept an unfavourable settlement, as the least undesirable of two most disadvantageous courses, rather than to break off the negotiations.

The polemic attitude of the Russian Government roused a corresponding warlike feeling in England, both in official and unofficial circles, and I understand that a broad hint was conveyed by a Member of the British Cabinet to the Russian Ambassador that it might become necessary, in the event of the demarcation falling through, for England to trace the boundary herself and regard *that* as the frontier of Afghanistan.

Unfortunately, Russia was by no means in an accommodating mood just then, and M. de Giers, usually suave and conciliatory, and personally opposed to Russia's southern progress, was obviously being driven by the war party, who had then the upper hand, into an indication to occupy the line of frontier most advantageous to Russia. At the same time it was authoritatively reported from St. Petersburg that preparations were being made for some great military movement as soon as the winter should break up.

It thus became of vital consequence to consider

what we should do in the event of the Russians suddenly swooping down on Herat. For many years, ever since the publication of Sir Henry Rawlinson's "England and Russia in the East," Herat had been regarded as the "Key of India," and though its fortifications were of no real use against modern artillery, there was no doubt that its capture by Russia would make a profound impression throughout Asia.

Lord Dufferin was, however, careful to point out to the Home Government that to defend Herat, to relieve it in the event of investment, and to maintain communication for over five hundred miles between it and Candahar, would need more British troops than India then had at her disposal.

In the event of *la grande guerre* with Russia all over the world, the Viceroy did not think that the struggle in Central Asia would assume so vital and important a phase, and he could not help feeling that in that case it would be better not to encounter the enemy at a great distance from our base. Sir Donald Stewart, the Commander-in-Chief, was strongly of the same opinion. But wherever the stand was to be made, there was no doubt that, in the event of war, a rapid advance would have to be made as far as Candahar, and accordingly preparations were made for despatching twenty-five thousand men to Quetta by the Bolan Pass. The question as to how far we should assist in the defence of Herat was deferred in view of the Amir's coming visit to Rawal Pindi.

The idea of the Amir's visiting India had been suggested by Lord Ripon, and Colonel Ridgeway had reported that Abdur Rahman was desirous of a personal interview. Both Lord Dufferin and the Secretary of State had concurred, and arrangements had accordingly been made for his Highness to repair to Rawal Pindi on March 31st.

On March 23rd the Viceroy left Calcutta, and four days later arrived at Rawal Pindi, where a very large camp had been formed, which, though of course not comparable with that of 1903 at Delhi, was far larger and more magnificent than usual, even in India. It consisted, in fact, of a group of camps, one devoted to the native Princes and Chiefs, one to each of the British and Native Armies, one to the Lieutenant-Governor, and so on. Among the distinguished guests of the Viceroy were the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, the three Commanders-in-Chief, the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, and the members of the Council. The only *contretemps* was the weather. In spite of the confident assurances of the local authorities, backed by the meteorological pundits, that it never rained in Rawal Pindi at that season of the year, it poured steadily for nearly a fortnight, and the grand Durbar had to be postponed till a day or two before the Amir's departure.

On the morning of the Amir's entry the rain fell in torrents, after a night of thunder and lightning, and a state procession of fifty elephants had to be

abandoned for the more comfortable shelter of a closed carriage, into which his Highness was glad to esconce himself, while the band, with a Mark Tapley-like affectation of cheeriness under depressing circumstances, played "For he might have been a Roossian. A Frenchman, Turk, or Proossian, etc. But in spite of all temptations he remains an Englishman!"

Lady Dufferin's experiences of this horrible weather were gruesome in the extreme. It may be imagined what life was like in the tents, gorgeous and spacious though they were. To pass merely from one room to another, waterproofs and thick boots had to be donned, while any one coming through a door had to put up an umbrella and jump a ditch. Several of the Viceregal party were simply washed out of their tents.

The Amir turned out to be a very interesting and at the same time a rather puzzling personage. Sir A. Lyall thus describes him in an article, referred to above:

> A stout, burly man dressed in a black uniform coat, decorated with two diamond stars, with long black boots, and an astrachan cap; a prince of frank and even bluff, yet courteous manners, quite at his ease amid a crowd of foreigners, speaking pleasantly of the first railway journey he had ever undertaken; a man of some humour in jokes, with a face occasionally crossed by a look of implacable severity, the look of Louis XI. or Henry VIII., that is now never seen in civilised life."

At Rawal Pindi he was pleased with the wet

weather, was in very good humour all round, and talked of going on to London. Three whole hours during one morning were passed by him in arranging cut flowers in forty vases, and he expressed a wish to have large floral supplies sent to him daily. At the same time, with enlightened forethought, he had been careful to bring with him his own executioner, a gentleman, who, clad in mediæval garb of red velvet and carrying the implements of his high office, viz.—an axe and a strangling rope, used to employ his enforced leisure in helping to put up the tents. During the very first of the ensuing conferences between Abdur Rahman and the Viceroy, after the latter had expounded at great length the English views on the Afghan question and had asked the Amir for a statement of his proposals and opinions, the Great Man replied, "I don't think that is a fair question."

Before meeting the Amir, Lord Dufferin referred home for definite instructions, and was assured that an attack on Herat by Russia would be regarded by her Majesty's Government as a *casus belli* and would mean war. At the same time a peaceful issue was to be sought if compatible with the necessities and dignities of the case.

The first day (Monday) was taken up with a march past, followed by a banquet and an evening party. On the Tuesday there was a grand military display, the success of which was enhanced by a bright sun and a fresh wind. The great Durbar

took place on the Wednesday, when the weather was again favourable. The picture is thus described in Lord Dufferin's own words :

The *coup d'œil* inside the tents was marvellous. All the Rajahs had stuck on their heads every diamond they possessed, including probably those belonging to their wives. Bahawalpur especially was magnificent—a handsome savage, with long ringlets rippling down his back and a kind of mitre on his head, built up entirely of jewels. I conducted the Amir to a silver chair placed on a *dais* on my right, while the Duke of Connaught sat on another on the other side. We had prepared a most handsome "Khillat" or dress of honour, in other words, a multitude of presents of every description for the Amir and his sons—sporting guns, tissues, watches, musical boxes, and every sort of curious gewgaw. While they were being laid out on the ground before him, our guest affected to be unconscious of what was going on ; but I hear that when he got home he spent a whole afternoon in examining them with the delight of a child, and admitted that no one ever had such a "khillat."

After the presentation, his Highness inquired through the interpreter whether he might say something loud enough to be heard by the whole assembly. This was quite unexpected, but permission being awarded, he made the following speech :

I am deeply sensible of the kindness which I have received from his Excellency the Viceroy, and of the favour shown to me by her Majesty the Queen Empress. In return for this kindness and favour I am ready, with my army and my people, to render any services which

may be required of me or of the Afghan nation. As the British Government has declared that it will assist me in repelling any foreign enemy, so it is right and proper that Afghanistan should unite in the firmest manner, and stand side by side with the British Government.

The Viceroy then presented the Amir with a diamond-hilted sword, which was brought in on a cushion, as a token of his Excellency's personal regard. Taking the sword in his hand, his Highness exclaimed in a loud and energetic tone of voice, "With this sword I hope to smite any enemy of the British Government."

The former words were received with a tremendous clapping on the part of the British section of the spectators, a most improper proceeding, but one which evidently pleased the Amir immensely.

Scarcely had this gorgeous and successful Durbar come to its close, when a telegram was received that a serious conflict had actually taken place at Penjdeh, between the Russian and Afghan troops. This alarming intelligence was immediately communicated to the Amir, but the fact was that it was not wholly unexpected, and the Amir certainly received it with indifference. When he was told that two companies had died at their posts, he said that of course they had, but what did it matter how many Afghans were killed? If half the natives were killed, the other half would go on fighting. Before leaving Rawal Pindi, however, his Highness showed signs of a very different

temper, and spoke of signally avenging the injury, and it was the opinion of some who knew him personally, that if he had been at the time in Cabul, surrounded by his ignorant, conceited and obsequious counsellors, and under no calming, restraining influence, he might have retaliated and so precipitated a conflict for which he was utterly unprepared. However this may be, it is certain that the long conferences with Lord Dufferin enabled Abdur Rahman to understand much more clearly the actual military and political situation, and tended to make him refrain from any inconsiderate and imprudent course of action.

On the morning of his departure the Amir was created a G.C.S.I., and he left Rawal Pindi very well pleased with his visit.

The Penjdeh fracas had naturally produced great tension in our relations with Russia. The British Government were, however, in ignorance as to the ulterior design and secret intentions of Russia, and in order to be prepared for all contingencies the reserves in England were called out and the military preparations in India were continued, one most useful feature thereof being the collection of two hundred and twenty miles of rail for the prolongation to Candahar of the railway then under construction to Quetta. Money and arms were freely given to the Amir, and British officers visited Herat and made a careful examination of its defences.

One important and most satisfactory feature of the crisis was to elicit warm and loyal expressions

of fidelity and allegiance from native princes and people of India, and to this the Viceroy made grateful reference in replying to an address from the Lahore Municipality a few days after. But when efforts were made to pursuade him to relax the stringency of the Arms Act, and to consent to the formation of native volunteer corps, the Viceroy wisely declined to allow himself to be hurried into an off-hand decision over such momentous issues.

Lord Salisbury succeeded Mr. Gladstone in June 1885. Not long afterwards premonitory symptoms of political complications arose in Eastern Europe, and Russia began to assume a more conciliatory attitude in the Afghan Frontier question. On September 10th the arrangements for the delimitation as far as Khojah Saleh were agreed upon in a formal protocol signed in London by both parties. The actual demarcation began in November and, with the exception of a dispute regarding Khamiab, a small district on the left bank of the Oxus, the ownership of which was left to be decided upon by the two Cabinets in Europe, the work was completed and the maps and protocols signed by the Commissioners. The actual erection of the demarcation pillars was to be carried out by Assistant Commissioners who were sent out subsequently for the purpose.

The Mission, having finished its task, then broke up and the British portion returned by way of Cabul, reaching the Indian frontier at Jamrud on October 31st, after an absence of about two years.

During this period a vast amount of useful work had been carried out. Upwards of a hundred thousand square miles had been surveyed and mapped, in addition to the surveys directly connected with this delimitation, and two hundred and ninety miles of frontier had been determined and marked by pillars. Besides this, much valuable information, topographical, political, scientific, ethnical and military had been collected, and, as the Foreign Department remarked with pride, "the Commission had lived and travelled in the wildest parts of Central Asia gaining the goodwill of the inhabitants and without a single complaint being brought against anyone of its members, officers or men, by the officials or people of the country."[1]

[1] Properly speaking, a special official volume or series of volumes, descriptive of this remarkable episode in Lord Dufferin's Viceroyalty ought to have been forthcoming. In a separate work, "Memoir on the Indian Surveys, 1875-1890 (Stanford) 1891," I endeavoured to give a brief summary of the labours of the officers who were attached to the Afghan Boundary Commission, but no facilities of research were given to me (although the work was official) and the summary referred to was necessarily brief. At that time I was serving in the India Office and having ascertained that the Government of India were really desirous of a worthy record being prepared of the doings of the Mission, and had written home to that effect, I tried to convince the authorities at home of the desirability of doing something to give effect to the wishes of the Indian Government, but in this I was unsuccessful. And yet other missions of less importance, like Sir F. Goldsmid's Mission to Eastern Persia, and Sir Douglas Forsyth's to Eastern Turkistan, had formed the subject of most interesting Reports compiled by order of Government. Had it not been for this, as it seems to me, unfortunate decision, the literature of Central Asia would have been conspicuously enriched in regard to an obscure region of considerable historical and political importance, where the struggle for the future mastery of Asia will in all probability be decided.

CHAPTER XI

THE INDIAN VICEROYALTY (*continued*)

NORTH-WEST FRONTIER AND AFGHAN POLICY—DEFENCE OF INDIA—FRONTIER TRIBES

THE possibility of war with Russia had to a great degree simplified the policy of the Government of India towards Afghanistan. Briefly, this policy consisted in making common cause with the Amir, in getting him to agree to follow our advice, and in supplying him with the means of repelling invasion from the north. But when Russia's aggressiveness began to cool down, the situation as a whole had to be reconsidered on rather broader lines. The Viceroy accordingly called the attention of the Secretary of State to the questions of the future relations of India with Afghanistan, and a long correspondence of high importance ensued. A great deal, indeed the major part thereof, is of a confidential character and unsuitable for publication, but it affords a very striking example of the thoroughness with which Lord Dufferin mastered the whole field of an exceedingly complex subject. Having myself devoted many years of my India Office service

(1869–1892) to studying Afghan geography, ethnology, history, and politics, I must confess my surprise at finding how many points of obscure but weighty import he ferreted out and is careful to lay stress on. On the whole he appears to have formed moderate and statesmanlike views, views which deserve the attentive study of those who have been too much inclined to range all varying shades of Indian policy under the misnomers of the backward or forward school.

In considering the situation, a start was made from the datum line of the Ripon Agreement of July 20th, 1880, under which the British Government pledged itself to maintain the integrity of the Amir's dominions. Lord Dufferin showed very clearly how one-sided a compact this was, when Abdur Rahman bore himself in no friendly guise towards Colonel Ridgeway, and also steadfastly discountenanced the idea of locating two or three British officers on the frontier, for the settlement of all border disputes with his Russian neighbours. However, after very careful consideration of the latter step, Lord Dufferin arrived at the conclusion that it was inexpedient, and that it was preferable to station an officer on the Persian border at Meshed to closely watch events and advise the Amir's officials.[1] This was duly done, General

[1] I remember making a similar suggestion to the Government in 1880, soon after I was appointed a Private Secretary to the Secretary of State at the Home Office. The particular strategic point of observation I recommended was Sarakhs and, had Lord Granville approved of the idea, the officer who would probably have been appointed was Colonel

Maclean being the first officer appointed. As to the general notion of making Afghanistan a "Buffer State," Lord Dufferin confessed that, personally, he never felt very cordially inclined thereto, mainly in consequence of the difficulty of sending troops to protect the distant frontier which England had undertaken to defend, and also because of the disorganised condition of the country. It was a "conglomeration of insubordinate tribes, governed by lieutenants, incompetent, disobedient, corrupt or disloyal, and sometimes all these things at once." Speaking of Herat in a subsequent letter he draws this interesting comparison :

> Herat is in some respects to Afghanistan what Khartoum is to Egypt. It is an alien possession, where all the advantages are on the side of the attack and all the disadvantages on that of the defence. It is true I was always in favour even of Egypt holding Khartoum as long as she could do so with any prospect of success—a condition which existed until poor Hicks was driven into making his unfortunate expedition into Kordofan—and of course I am still more anxious that Afghanistan should maintain its hold upon Herat.

The revolt of the Ghilzais, in the Autumn of

(afterwards Sir) Oliver St. John. This was some years before M. Lessar's roving propensities led him to explore the territory of Badghis, north and east of the Hari Rud River. At that time the country was absolutely unexplored and unknown, but it was destined to soon form a very critical field of international discussion, and eventually the boundary line was pushed far down to the south, mainly in consequence of M. Lessar's arguments, and his superior local knowledge. Things would have turned out far better for us, if that accomplished surveyor and observer, St. John, in 1880 had been the first explorer of the region instead of Lessar in 1883.

1886, brought the Afghan question to the front again. These powerful tribesmen inhabit the country between Cabul and Candahar, and the attitude that the British Government should adopt towards them called for anxious consideration, especially as the insurgent leaders had appealed to the Indian authorities for help. Lord Dufferin, however, pointed out in writing home that the Amir was our creature, that our friendly relations with him had become a matter of history, and that it would be impossible for us to assist the tribes, unless the Amir showed himself false to us. On the other hand it was undesirable for various reasons for any bad feeling to exist between the Ghilzais and the British. Regarding the former the Viceroy observed :

> From all accounts they are very well disposed towards us. They have begun to understand the danger of having Russia for a neighbour . . . and that their best chance of protection and fair treatment is from us. They are not wilder or fiercer or more bloodthirsty than were formerly the tribes of the Lebanon,[1] and I do not see why we should not be able to establish such relations as have subsisted for so many years past between the Druses and the Turkish Government.

This suggestion, however, was mainly put forward because Abdur Rahman had not, up to that point, established his rule very firmly. In the ensuing years he did much to fortify and consolidate his power, and with the assistance of Sir Salter Pyne

[1] See Syrian chapter, p. 58.

and a few other Englishmen inaugurated an era of industrial development, which revolutionised Cabul, and to some extent conduced to the strength and prosperity of the country.

The upshot of the correspondence between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State was a resolve to pursue a course of masterly inactivity in the quarrel between the Amir and his subjects, but to continue to fortify the British frontier, with the view of making it inexpugnable. This coincided with the advice of Sir Frederick Roberts and General Chesney, who had returned from a tour of inspection along the North-West Frontier. The Ghilzai revolt was eventually repressed, but the effect had been to encourage disaffection in Herat and Afghan Turkistan, and Ayub Khan, who had been for some time living in Teheran, considered that the time had come for striking a blow for the throne of Afghanistan. Accompanied by a group of adherents, he quitted Teheran and succeeded in reaching the Afghan frontier, but there his advance was stopped by the combined action of Persian and Afghan soldiery, and for a time he was reduced to the condition of a political fugitive, till he appealed to General Maclean at Meshed. Their negotiations resulted in an arrangement which provided for the following :— Ayub Khan and his principal followers should take up their abode in India and receive allowances according to their rank, the total sum amounting to about four lakhs of rupees. This arrangement

was sanctioned by the Secretary of State, and the whole party with their attendants, comprising more than a thousand persons, were transferred to the Punjab and placed under the supervision of a political officer especially appointed for the purpose.

In Afghan Turkistan, the province which Lord Dufferin always considered was more liable to detachment from the Amir's cause, a more serious movement took place. The Governor of this province was Ishak Khan, the Amir's cousin, and grandson of Dost Mahomed. He was strongly suspected of being in close alliance with the Russian officials across the border: in fact, Josef Popofski, the well-known writer on Central Asia, openly calls him "a hireling of Russia." He and Abdullah Jan, the Governor of the extreme north-eastern and mountainous province of Badakshan, were summoned to Cabul to confer with the Amir, and Ishak Khan at first feigned compliance, but later on threw off the mask and proclaimed himself Amir. His success against Abdullah Jan was, however, scanty and short-lived, and he fled to his Russian friends across the border. One important result, however, was that on the news of Abdullah Jan's defeat reaching the Amir, the latter at once sent off a messenger to Peshawar, begging the Government of India to occupy and hold for him some important strategical points in his territory. The tide of battle soon turned, however, and Abdur Rahman despatched a second messenger

to stop his original message. It was too late, though, the first missive having already reached its destination; and the incident shed a very significant light on the policy which the Amir would probably adopt in the event of any serious difficulty.

Another consequence arising out of the revolt was the postponement of a mission which the Viceroy had contemplated sending to Cabul. He had proposed a meeting with a view to the exchange of ideas, and in reply the Amir had suggested that two British officers of high position, such as members of council, should be deputed to the capital, to be present at a conference, in which any measures which the Viceroy might propose would be discussed with representatives of the nation. The Amir conceived an original idea that Mr. Gladstone, who was then out of office, would make a capital member of the mission. Finally the Viceroy nominated his Foreign Secretary, Mr. H. M. Durand,[1] and his Private Secretary, Sir Donald M. Wallace, but, owing to Ishak Khan's revolt and the events ensuing thereupon, the whole project fell through.

The relations between England and Afghanistan and the frontier tribes left untouched, however, the question of strategic defence, which, after all, constituted India's chief bulwark, whenever the struggle came. The Viceroy pointed out to his colleagues and to the Secretary of State, that the

[1] Now H.B.M.'s Ambassador at Madrid.

fact of India having become practically contiguous with a great military power of the European type, necessitated a radical modification of our previous scheme of defence. Long before arriving in India Lord Dufferin had formed the conclusion in his own mind that a first-class fort, supplemented by subsidiary forts on properly chosen sites, was one of the necessities of the future. In this the Secretary of State concurred, and the whole question was entrusted to a Committee of specialists, whose report was only sanctioned on October 15th, 1885. On the details of the project of defence it would be undesirable to dwell in a work intended for publication. Moreover, in general terms, it has been most clearly and concisely described by Lord Roberts in his "Forty-one Years in India," vol. ii., p. 402.

Since Lord Dufferin's time, there has been an immense development of activity on the North-West Frontier, so that what was begun in 1885 represents but a small part of the present scheme of frontier defence. There has been, too, an extraordinary accretion of territory, so that in the north, Hunza-Nagar, Chitral, and the intervening ground up to the neighbourhood of Peshawar, has fallen to Great Britain. Southward of the Safed Koh (the southern watershed of the Cabul river) the cast of the net of destiny has brought within the scarlet frontier line a gigantic area of country up to the Persian border and

the Arabian Sea.[1] Our political responsibilities have been thus enormously enlarged. But the strategic conditions, which are primarily dependent on the great geographical features, have not as yet been materially modified. The practicable routes leading from Russian territory to the Indian frontier are still divisible into three groups, viz. — (1) The mountain paths leading from Wakhan and Badakshan across the Hindu Kush to Kashmir, Gilgit, and Chitral; (2) the passes converging on Cabul, and the valley of the Cabul River; and (3) the routes leading to Candahar and eastward to the passes through the Sulimans which debouch into the valley of the Indus. In all these regions there has been a systematised scheme of surveys, which have been incorporated in a series of trans-frontier maps, so that the physical features, the practical routes and the resources of, and supplies procurable on each line of advance have been minutely recorded. Defensive works, railways, roads, and bridges, have been built, and in the interior protective measures have been taken for the care of the arsenals and large railway bridges. Steps have also been taken for protecting, by means of heavy guns, gunboats, torpedo boats and other appliances the harbours of Karachi, Bombay, Calcutta, and Rangoon.

In order to complete the scheme of defence, in 1885 it was necessary to increase the number of British and Native troops in India. This meant

[1] See page 244, *infra*.

a permanent increase of the military budget and additional taxation, but Lord Dufferin showed clearly that the necessity had to be boldly faced; and the recommendations were sanctioned and have since been gradually carried out.

The Native Princes came forward at the time of the Russian menace with offers of men and money. This loyal attitude on their part was very gratifying, but the subject and the whole question were too wide and important to be settled offhand. It was decided to make an experiment of modest dimensions in the Punjab Native States, for extension to other States if found feasible. Eventually a force called the Imperial Service troops was created, by the contribution from each Native State of a small military force commanded by State officers, but drilled, disciplined, and armed under the supervision of British officers and on British lines, our Government finding the necessary supervising officer, arms, and organisation. The offer was universally accepted. The number of Imperial Service troops now amounts to about eighteen thousand, or sixteen per cent. of the total number of Indian troops. These have done admirable service in Gilgit, Chitral, and minor wars on the North-West Frontier, and undoubtedly form a valuable accession to the military strength of India.

As is well known, between Afghanistan (using the term in its political sense to denote the dominions

directly responsible to the Amir's rule) and the old British frontier at the foot of the Sulimans there is a long strip of mountainous territory stretching from the Hindu Kush to the Bolan Pass, inhabited by warlike tribes, mostly Pathans or Afghans, whose quarrels with, and occasional chastisements by the British authorities are matters of notorious history. In fact, the Northern part is called Yaghistan or Rebel Land by the timid Kashmiris. On the merits of what has been called the "Punjab system," Lord Dufferin wrote as follows to the Secretary of State in his letter of August 18th, 1887:

Hitherto it had been the practice of the Punjab Government, who were principally concerned in this part of the question, to discourage all intercourse between our own subjects and the various communities living beyond the border. Their system was to punish the tribes promptly and efficiently if they committed any outrage upon our territory, but in all other respects to leave them severely alone. This procedure had many advantages so long as Russia remained in the far distance. It avoided complications, trivial causes of dispute, and the friction between individuals, which results from all human intercourse; but on the other hand, it left us in ignorance of the geographical features of the country immediately on our front, and our wild neighbours in equal ignorance of our own desirable qualities. Now, however, that circumstances may render this intervening tract the theatre of conflict between Russia and ourselves, it is desirable that at least we should acquaint ourselves with the lie of the land, and if possible, establish a friendly familiarity with its inhabitants.

There was one conspicuous exception to the

record of dubious success on the Punjab frontier, and that was the late Sir Robert Warburton's administration of affairs in the Khyber, from 1879 to 1898. He employed the Afridi *maliks* to keep the pass open, and earned Lord Dufferin's warm praise. Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace, too, speaks of Warburton's work in 1886, as "a remarkable example of the possibility of controlling and disciplining the Pathan tribes of the border." Wallace adds that the road through the Khyber in independent Afridi territory was, in consequence, at least as safe as the neighbouring roads in British territory around Peshawar. Sir Robert Warburton in his own work ("Eighteen Years in the Khyber": *Murray*)[1] gives clear and detailed instances how successful were his methods. It is a powerful condemnation of the Punjab system of aloofness from the frontier tribes, and a proof that the successful policy of Sir Robert Sandeman in Baluchistan might have been applied with similar results along the northern borders, had energetic and sympathetic agents been forthcoming. It is true that Warburton had Afghan blood in his veins, his father having married a noble lady of that race, a niece of Dost Mahomed, but any one can see from his book that his methods were English. He trusted the tribes, was constantly associating with them, and they implicitly repaid his confidence. Sir Donald Wallace points out,

[1] Written at the suggestion of King Edward VII., when Prince of Wales.

Photo by] [*Bourne & Shepherd.*

CARAVAN IN KHYBER PASS.

[*To face p.* 242.

however, that the system involved pay to tribal levies, and would have been too costly if applied along the whole length of the border.

Lord Dufferin's administration was not marked by any striking or immediate change in the important and much contested question of the Indian frontier policy. There was, indeed, an expedition in 1888, against those notorious marauders the Hassanzais of the Black Mountain, who were pacified for a time, and satisfactory relations were opened up with the important little mountain state of Chitral, below the crest of the great Hindu Kush range. It forms a watch-tower of considerable value, commanding as it does a well-known line of advance from the upper Oxus basin, where the Russians have a strong permanent fort, down the Kunar valley to Peshawar. Sir William Lockhart, afterwards Commander-in-Chief in India, visited Chitral in 1885, and persuaded the Mehtar and his sons that their best course was to cultivate a firm friendship with the British Raj. Some ten years later Chitral was permanently annexed and occupied by a military force, after a memorable siege. On the extreme north the secluded and difficult valley of Hunza-Nagar, an integral part of the Indus basin, be it remembered, was conquered in 1891, after a very brilliant series of assaults, and that region too has been brought under the Britannic ægis. Mr. E. F. Knight's graphic account of this little war ("Where Three Empires meet": *Longmans & Co.*) is a well-

known and deservedly popular book. Both Chitral and Hunza-Nagar had attracted the polite curiosity of two Russian explorers, Yanoff and Grombchevsky.

It was not till November 12th, 1893, that Sir Mortimer Durand concluded an agreement with the Amir providing for the demarcation of the long frontier between the two Powers from Wakhan to Persia. From a political point of view this settled the question of jurisdiction once for all, and since then, of course, Great Britain has been responsible for the good government of the country east and south of that long line, and the Amir for all west and north of it. The last important event in reference to the Indian frontier has been the creation by Lord Curzon of a new province called the North-West Frontier Province under the direct control of the Governor-General in Council, for the better ordering of frontier matters.

These administrative changes will doubtless bring about in time the tranquillisation, good government, and prosperity of the border districts, as well as provide for the defence of India against invasion from the north-west. It has taken two decades to organise matters on a satisfactory basis, but the credit of initiating a new *régime* may be justly ascribed to Lord Dufferin. Before his time the old policy, so ignominiously stigmatised by some as that of "slaughter and scuttle," was in favour; Lord Dufferin's sagacity perceived the

weakness of this line of action, and the menaces of Russia culminating in the Penjdeh fracas—though they caused great anxiety and much, in a sense, unproductive expenditure—led, nevertheless, to a more thorough study of the defence of our Indian north-western frontier, and to a scheme of measures which have made it practically impregnable.

CHAPTER XII

THE INDIAN VICEROYALTY (*continued*)

TROUBLES WITH BURMA—FRANCE'S AND CHINA'S ATTITUDES—CONQUEST OF UPPER BURMA—HOSTILITIES WITH TIBET OVER SIKKIM—PERSIA AND THE SOMALI COAST

WHILE the political sky was so troublous and overcast in the north-west, there were unfortunately other complications arising in the east. Upper or Native Burma was ruled by King Thebaw, who had succeeded an intelligent and prudent prince, Mindoon Min, in 1878. One of the first acts of the new monarch, a weak youth under the influence of an ignorant and unprincipled wife, was to massacre all the male members of the royal family accessible, so as to remove any possible pretenders to the throne. Such an outrage could not be countenanced by us, and the British Resident was accordingly withdrawn. Commercial relations between the two countries continued, however, to subsist, and the Chief Commissioner kept up his communications with the authorities in Mandalay. The carrying trade up the main stream of communication was in the hands of the Irrawaddy

Flotilla Company, lucrative teak forests were leased to the Bombay Burma Trading Company, and the import and export trade was largely in the hands of Rangoon merchants. Towards the end of 1884 the town of Bhamo was captured by a band of marauding mountaineers, and this produced widespread trouble and excitement. On January 12th, 1885, the Viceroy wrote to the Secretary of State :

I am beginning to be very anxious about the condition of Burma. The Chinese irruptions, though probably it may turn out to be nothing but "dacoity" on a large scale, is evidently disorganising the kingdom. The Shans are beginning to move in the east, and brigandage is appearing in the south. I should not be surprised if a revolution were to ensue. We have just received a letter from Bernard, our Chief Commissioner, an abstract of which I enclose, which speaks for itself. Hitherto Bernard has been strongly opposed to interference, and has invariably snubbed the British colony at Rangoon, who were, of course, screaming for an immediate march on Mandalay. Now, however, he seems to have entirely changed his opinion, and as I am told he is an able and trustworthy man, we cannot afford to overlook his representations. For this reason I telegraphed to you to-day the gist of his proposals, without, however, myself passing an opinion on them or asking you for instructions. In a little while we may see clearer into the matter. The idea of a military adventure up the Irrawaddy is extremely distasteful to me. I should feel like a man riding at a very big fence with only one foot in the stirrup. On the other hand it is clear that if a step in that direction is admitted to be within the scope of our policy, the present would be an opportune moment to take it. . . .

If we decided upon acting at all, it would become a question whether this plan, or complete annexation, would be preferable. France is undoubtedly working very actively against us, both in Siam and further to the north amongst the Eastern Shans, and will probably in the end become as troublesome along that frontier as the Russians in the north-west. Our precautions should therefore be taken in time, and everything done to strengthen Siam and our trade relations with her. But all this means money, taxation, and a thousand unpleasant contingencies.

Eventually Bhamo was retaken by the Burmese troops. But unfortunately French influence at the capital, Mandalay, became more active. A rumour reached the Viceroy that a Franco-Burmese treaty had been concluded, according to which the famous Ruby mines had been leased to a French Company and other concessions in the Shan States had been made to Frenchmen. Lord Dufferin immediately made up his mind that if French movements should eventuate in any serious attempt to forestall us in Upper Burma, he would not hesitate to annex the country, believing that this course would be preferable to setting up a doubtful Prince on the throne. Shortly afterwards certain Burmese documents reached the Chief Commissioner at Rangoon, showing that the king's ministers were carrying on negotiations which would enable French agents to monopolise the whole trade and the chief resources of the country. Among the papers was a letter from a high personage in Paris to the Burmese Minister for Foreign Affairs, containing the following passage :—" With regard to the passage

through the province of Tonquin to Burma, of arms of various kinds, ammunition, and military stores generally, amicable arrangements will be made with the Burmese Government for the passage of the same when peace and order prevail in Tonquin, and when the officers stationed there are satisfied that it is proper and that there is no danger."

It was difficult to say whether this letter was authentic or not, but clear evidence was subsequently furnished to Lord Dufferin that the French Government intended to establish large French commercial interests at Mandalay, and to secure their political ascendancy in the upper valley of the Irrawaddy, with the view of acquiring a position which would enable them to put pressure upon England, and thus obtain advantages when required.

The Viceroy considered the matter in Council, and a vigorous telegram was sent to the Secretary of State, saying that in the opinion of the Government of India immediate action should be taken. A confidential hint was given to the French Ambassador in London, but this produced no effect for the time, and French activity at Mandalay continued unabated. A decisive move was soon made by the Burmese. Towards the close of August a false charge of secretly removing timber was brought against the Bombay Burma Trading Corporation, and on this pretext an enormous fine of twenty-three lakhs of rupees was levied by

decree on the unfortunate Company, with the intimation that, in default of payment, the leases would be cancelled. This was more than our Government could stand, as Thebaw was politely informed, but with a view to amicable settlement arbitration was suggested. The Burmese Government, however, stoutly adhered to their own view of the case, and declined to suspend their action. There was good reason to believe that the reply had been dictated or inspired by the French Consul, for it was precisely about this time that the prospectus for the French Bank at Mandalay was circulated in Paris.

Under these circumstances the Government of India, with the concurrence of the Secretary of State, determined to send an ultimatum to King Thebaw. The main requirements were:

That an Envoy from the Viceroy should be suitably received at Mandalay, and the present dispute settled in communication with him; that all action against the Bombay Burma Trading Corporation should be suspended until the Envoy arrived, and that a diplomatic agent, provided with proper securities for his safety, should reside permanently at Mandalay, and receive becoming treatment from the Burmese Government. At the same time his Majesty was informed that for the future he would be expected to regulate his foreign relations in accordance with the advice of the Government of India, and to afford reasonable facilities for opening up British trade with China. In order to make it quite clear that the Government was in earnest, a warning was given that any reply short of an immediate, unconditional acceptance of the first three demands, and a general

acquiescence in the two last would be treated as a refusal. Simultaneously with the despatch of the letter containing these terms, a force of nearly ten thousand men was assembled in Rangoon under the command of General Prendergast.

The reply of King Thebaw was an evasive and silly endeavour to gain time, so as to try and secure foreign intervention on his behalf. At the same time he issued a warlike proclamation to his own people, telling them that the English intended to destroy the religion, violate the customs, and lower the honour of the Burmese, but that he himself would march out in person with his army to exterminate the enemy and take their country, and that beatific rest would be the portion of those who fell in the struggle.

This, of course, was tantamount to a refusal, and the Secretary of State ordered an immediate advance on Mandalay. General Prendergast acted with praiseworthy despatch. He crossed the frontier on November 15th, and on the 26th King Thebaw's envoys came and prayed for an armistice. The answer was that the advance could not be stayed, but that if the King submitted unconditionally he would be spared and properly treated. Thebaw fell in with the inevitable, and on the 28th the Royal Palace was occupied, and its late master, with his Queen and some ladies of the Court, were conveyed to Madras. The entire campaign had cost the lives of less than twenty officers and men.

The question which had now to be faced was the future government of Upper Burma. Lord Dufferin favoured annexation pure and simple. As he pointedly put it, "It is quite enough to be worried by a buffer policy in the west without reduplicating it in the east." Moreover, elasticity and a certain power of intermediate resistance are (he added) the essential qualities of a "buffer" which, in a limited sense, do exist in Afghanistan, but not in Burma, which Lord Dufferin picturesquely describes as a "soft, pulpy and molluscous" entity. In writing to the Secretary of State he admitted that Upper Burma, if well governed and developed, might eventually prove a rich appanage of the British Crown, but that it would take years before both ends could be made to meet.

A rather puzzling point, however, was the suzerainty, jurisdiction, or position of China. On November 5th the Chinese Minister made anxious inquiries as to the objects of the Burma Expedition. He stated that Commissioners had been despatched from Yunnan to Mandalay, advising the king to rescind the decree against the company, but it was then too late. The Secretary of State, however, suggested to Lord Dufferin that it would be well for the Government of India to send a special Envoy to Peking. This suggestion was cordially concurred in and his Excellency selected Sir Lepel Griffin for the mission. In consequence, however, of Chinese opposition the proposal fell through, and subsequent negotiations were carried on through

the usual channels. Lord Salisbury assured Marquis Tseng that the Government would examine in the most friendly manner, with the desire to take them into account, any rights of China which could be sustained by records or custom. In the meantime, however, it was necessary to define the international status of Burma, and on January 1st, 1886, the annexation of the territories previously governed by King Thebaw was formally promulgated. It was explained by the British Chargé d'Affaires at Peking to the Tsungli-Yamen, that this made no difference in our relations with China in regard to Burma, and that the arrangement regarding the position of China equally held good. The interchange of missions and presents between Upper Burma and China, in accordance with the Burmo-Chinese Treaty of 1769, would still continue, and arrangements would be made for the delimitation of the frontier.

Any one familiar with the vague notions subsisting in China over "tribute" will readily understand that it was rather difficult to ascertain what were the real relations between the Courts of Ava and Peking. A mission was said to be despatched regularly every ten years with presents from Mandalay, and another mission with less valuable presents from Peking, but the Burmese Ministers declared this was nothing but an exchange of courtesies and implied no tribute. The probability is that this view was correct, as we find a similar exchange of compliments has long existed and used to exist

up to a recent date, between Nepal and China. Lord Dufferin's suggested expedient was to empower the Emperor of China, as the head of the Buddhist faith, to appoint the chief ecclesiastic or hierarch of Mandalay, but this was opposed by some of the India Office authorities and also by some of the leading Burmans. An unexpected opportunity, however, arose of squaring the Chinese in another way—*i.e.*, over the commercial mission to Lhassa, which they themselves had sanctioned, but which, in spite of Imperial orders for its reception, the Tibetans were preparing to resist by force. This was a very awkward position for China, and when it was hinted that if they would abstain from opposing us in Burma we might refrain from insisting on the fulfilment of their engagement in the Tibetan mission, the Tsungli-Yamen jumped at the chance.

On July 24th, 1886, a Convention was signed, providing that England should have a free hand in Burma, that the highest authority in the province should continue to send the customary decennial missions to Peking, that the frontier should be demarcated by a Commission, and that China should protect and encourage trade between her south-western provinces and the valley of the Irrawaddy. The permanent incorporation of the Kingdom of Ava with the British Empire was announced in the Queen's Speech on the opening of Parliament in February 1886.[1]

[1] Mr. Gladstone's fourth Ministry succeeded that of Lord Salisbury on February 6th.

Recognising that a visit to Burma would enable him to settle several of the pending questions there, Lord Dufferin left Calcutta for Rangoon on February 3rd, and thence proceeded to Mandalay. Here he instituted careful inquiry and after anxious consultation with the officials on the spot, wired to the Secretary of State his matured views. He gave in his voice for annexation pure and simple, one of his most convincing arguments being that he considered the rapid overthrow and obliteration of a perverse ruler in the neighbourhood of the British dominions would not have an unsatisfactory effect upon the minds of the Indian Princes, whom Lord Ripon in particular was afraid of alarming.

The greatest difficulty that the Viceroy had to confront was the dacoity. Some people in England were inclined to regard these depredators as peasants carrying on partisan warfare against the British, but this was not at all the case. The dacoits never attacked our troops, but preyed upon the natives, and were raiding right and left, before ever the English appeared on the scene. Gang robberies appeared to have been the rule for a long time in Native Burma, and to have been encouraged through King Thebaw's eccentric methods of administration. Rapid progress was, however, being made, and the mere presence of English officers was having a tranquillising effect. By way of comparison, Lord Dufferin in his letter to the Secretary of State, could not resist the

temptation of pointing out that thirty years previously, and even at a later period, the neighbourhood of Calcutta and Poona had been a good deal more unsafe than the country round Mandalay was then (1886). A notorious dacoit had for three or four years in Central India baffled all the attempts of the Government to catch him, and dacoity, Lord Dufferin slyly added, was a thing not altogether unknown in the streets of London. At the same time it was quite clear that dacoity was a form of crime that somehow was very congenial to the more restless and disreputable Burmese, and in spite of constant and energetic measures to suppress it, it took some years before it was finally got under. The province had an area larger than that of France, and the Burmese being singularly ill-qualified for police work, a large body of military police had to be recruited from Northern India, and shipped in batches to Rangoon.

In England a rather gloomy view of the situation was taken, mainly, as it would appear, owing to the telegrams and letters of the *Times* correspondent, who was apparently on not very friendly terms with the chief officials in Burma. In a letter dated September 20th, to the Secretary of State, Lord Dufferin endeavoured to refute some of the main points of criticism, which, by-the-bye, were not at all unlike some of the allegations brought, with probably more justice, against the Government in 1889—1902 over the South African war. It was said that the Indian authorities had

miscalculated the difficulties of the task, but Lord Dufferin was able to point out that the original force conquered the country with practically no loss at all, and that up to the time of his own visit to Mandalay the dacoit gang leaders and pretenders were quiescent. Both the civic and military authorities said that they had plenty of men at their disposal. Lord Dufferin was, however, not quite satisfied. An illustration of this, which he gave me one day in conversation with him at Clandeboye, was very interesting. He had put the question to the late Sir Charles Bernard as to whether the military force, with which we hoped to hold and pacify the country, was really adequate. Bernard, after consulting Sir Frederick Roberts, was of opinion that it was, but Lord Dufferin said he would not decide immediately, but would think over it. In the afternoon the Viceroy, in company with a field officer, took a walk and ascended to the top of a commanding hill, from whence the surrounding country could be seen. He asked his companion how far British jurisdiction extended, and a line on the near horizon was pointed out to him marking the watershed. "But" added the officer, Colonel White, afterwards the heroic defender of Ladysmith, "I think we should have considerable difficulty in holding even that at a pinch." Again Lord Dufferin said nothing, but the same evening he had telegraphed to India on his own responsibility for ten thousand more men. As he put it in his letter to Lord

Cross, the Secretary of State: "I steadily continued the process until our force amounted to something like thirty-thousand men."

Soon after the beginning of the cold weather the number of troops had been augmented to some thirty-two thousand, and the military police to eight thousand, and on December 28th, his Excellency was able to write home to the Secretary of State:

> On the whole I am in hopes that matters in Burma are improving. The unfortunate people who oppose us are always forced to give way with loss, while on our side we scarcely receive a scratch, and the way in which we are surrounding the disturbed districts, and are turning up when least expected, has not only disheartened our opponents, but has at last put some spirit into the general population, and we now hear on all sides of the villagers not only resisting the attacks made upon them, but of their sallying forth and capturing the disturbers of the public peace.

Further additions were, however, made to the police force, which was increased to a total of about twenty-seven thousand Indian and native men, with a sort of depot for recruits of some four thousand more, undergoing training in India. These numbers were, of course, disproportionately and abnormally large, considering the population, but they really fulfilled to a great extent the purposes of an army of occupation, and gave opportunity for the continual reduction of the Burma garrison proper. Endeavour was also made to disarm the people by a proclamation calling

for a surrender of all fire-arms, but this was not very successful. An important means of communication was made by the extension of the Toungoo Railway to Mandalay immediately after the annexation. This is the grand arterial or trunk line of Burma, and has conduced powerfully to the development of the whole province.

It is not necessary to trace bit by bit the administrative enlargement of Upper Burma. The formation of a civil corps, and of a revenue system, and the provision of jails, court-houses, and municipal institutions as well as of a village system of organisation have proved eminently successful, and at the present day Burma, Upper and Lower, is a model of a flourishing province, owing its prosperity largely to the incorporation and amalgamation of the two halves in Lord Dufferin's time.

The Shan States were another region brought under British rule contemporaneously with Upper Burma. The Shans occupy an elevated plateau stretching eastward of Mandalay, in the direction of the Mekong River, between Yunnan and Siam, and intersected by numerous ranges of hills. The inhabitants are of different origin and language from the Burmese, and live under the patriarchal rule of hereditary chiefs,[1] who had been long tributary, to the Alompra dynasty of Ava. The

[1] There is an interesting and exhaustive account of the country of the Shans by the late Colonel R. G. Woodthorpe, C.B., in the *Geographical Journal* for June, 1896. The Shan chiefs were by general consent the most picturesquely attired of all the native princes at the Delhi Durbar of 1903.

Government of India thus became suzerain to those chiefs, and the policy was followed of maintaining the chiefs in their respective positions, on the condition that they kept their people from raiding, abstained from fighting among themselves and from entering into relation with any foreign power, and that they should gradually approximate to our standard of civil discipline. These objects have been gradually attained without military operations, by the appointment of a political agent called the Superintendent of the Shan States, whose jurisdiction thus extends eastward to the watershed of the Mekong and Salwin Rivers.

In the north the wild and mountainous nature of the country and the uncivilised character of the Kakhyen tribes precluded much progress. Comparing, however, the pacification of the country with that achieved in the case of Pegu, which, though far smaller than Upper Burma, took eight years, from 1853-1861, to reduce to order, the progress made in the three years, 1886-89, in the latter province was undeniably satisfactory.

Another memorable event of Lord Dufferin's Viceroyalty was the war with Tibet over Sikkim. This originated in the desire of the Bengal Government to open up commercial relations with the great and mysterious land of the Lamas, a project which engaged the attention of Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General of India, in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The history of the mission to Tibet of Mr. Bogle, Hastings's envoy,

has been admirably told by Sir Clements Markham, in his volume published by Trübner and Co. (1876). It is needless to retrace the ground here, but having been associated with Sir Clements in the collection and utilisation of the material for that work, I cannot help saying that I firmly believe that there is a large and important trade to be done between India and Tibet, were communications freely thrown open between the two countries. The subject of Tibet seems to have cropped up in consequence of the interest aroused by the secret visits of the Bengali pundit, Sarat Chandra Das, to the Tibetan capital of Lhassa in 1879 and 1881. Mr. Colman Macaulay of the Bengal Civil Service was much struck with the chances that these visits seemed to offer to re-establish friendly intercourse between India and her northern neighbour, and made an official proposal for the despatch of an Indian mission to the land of the Lamas. Lord Dufferin was at first indisposed to entertain the suggestion, but Lord Randolph Churchill, who was then Secretary of State for India, was of a different opinion, and the Bengal Government being very keen in the matter, the Secretary of State despatched Mr. Macaulay to Peking, and with the assistance of the Chinese Minister in London the necessary passports were soon procured. It soon transpired, however, that the objection of the Tibetan ecclesiastics, who, notwithstanding their nominal allegiance to China, are remarkably independent,

was very determined. Passports or no passports, the Lamas had no intention of admitting the British mission, and preparations were made, with Chinese connivance, as it would appear, for stopping it at the frontier. As mentioned above, China was, fortunately for her, extricated from this dilemma by concessions in regard to Burma in return for England abandoning the Tibetan Mission.[1]

This, however, did not close the incident. In order to reach the lofty plateau of Tibet from the plains of India, travellers usually follow a circuitous road through the native State of Sikkim, which lies wedged in between Nepal and Bhutan. In their eagerness to oppose the proposed Mission, the Tibetans had descended into Sikkim territory and erected and garrisoned a fort at Lingtu, some distance beyond their own frontier. As the Sikkim Government was bound by their treaty with us of 1861 not to allow foreign troops into their territory, the Rajah was required by us to insist on the Tibetan garrison at Lingtu clearing out; but his Highness's sympathy was all with the Tibetans, of whom he was much more afraid than he was of the Calcutta authorities. Representations were made to the frontier officials and to the

[1] A clear and trustworthy account of the Tibeto-Sikkim imbroglio and of Sarat Chandra Das's sojourn and labours in Peking will be found in the late Mr. Alex. Michie's interesting work "The Englishman in China" (*Blackwood and Sons*), vol. ii., pp. 305-312, and in Mr. Rockhill's introduction to Sarat Chandra Das's "Journey to Lhassa and Central Tibet," published by Murray, under the auspices of the Royal Geographical Society.

Chinese Government, but in vain, and the Bengal Government began to press for stronger measures.

The Rajah had taken to residing all the year round at Chumbi, which lies in the tongue of Tibetan territory, jutting down between Sikkim and Bhutan, and, as already mentioned, his predilections were with the Tibetans. The Lepchas, or National party, who had practically carried on the Government during his absence, were really pro-British, but the impression was gaining ground that no help was forthcoming from India, and there was then a real danger that the whole Sikkim population might decide to throw in their lot with the Tibetans. It was for this reason that the difficulty could not be settled through diplomatic representations at Peking, for the enormous distance between Lhassa and the Chinese capital made speedy arrangements an impossibility.

In these circumstances diplomatic pressure at Peking had to be supplemented by action on the spot, and a letter was sent to the officer in command of the Lingtu garrison, telling him that unless he evacuated the fort by March 15th he would be expelled by force. This letter was returned unopened, with a verbal message that the Tibetan Government did not permit their servants to receive communications from foreigners! The letter was then forwarded to the Tibetan frontier officers, but was not answered. In February 1888, another appeal was made, this time to the Dalai Lama, disclaiming all aggressive or territorial

designs on the part of the British Government, but this also remained unanswered.

The Chinese Tsungli Yamen in Peking, in the meantime, were getting very uneasy, as March 15th was approaching, and through their new envoy in Szechuen, the province adjoining Tibet on the east, were pressing for still further delay as proof of friendly intentions. This, however, was out of the question, for, as our Minister at Peking put it, if two years' forbearance were not proof of goodwill, nothing would be. As a warning, one hundred and fifty pioneers were sent on ahead to repair the bridge at Rhenok, between our position and Lingtu, but this hint had no effect. Beyond, a stockade had been erected to bar the road, and on March 20th General Graham's column stormed this obstacle without any serious casualties on our side, and with the loss of fifty Tibetans. This defeat disheartened the enemy, and Lingtu was abandoned and the pass crossed. In the Chumbi valley some three thousand Tibetan troops assembled, and made a sudden attack on Gnatong, a post fortified by the British troops a little in advance of Lingtu. After three hours' fighting the Tibetans were driven back with the loss of about one hundred killed and as many wounded. In spite of these two reverses the militant hierarchy at Lhassa, who were practically the dominant power, would not give in, and by the middle of September a fresh force of about eleven thousand was collected, and entrenched near Gnatong. They were easily

routed by General Graham on September 24th, about four hundred of them being killed, a proportionate number wounded, and over one hundred taken prisoners. This decided the campaign, and the Tibetans offered no further molestation.

Since then endeavours have been made to place the trade between India and Tibet on a recognised and practicable footing, and after long and tedious negotiations, a treaty "port" was opened at Yatung on the frontier. It has not, however, been attended with great success, the Lhassa Lamas having always viewed the innovation with ill-disguised hostility. Tibet being shut off in every direction by such stupendous mountains, physical difficulties, and wild, bleak, and sterile regions, there appears to be but little prospect of better relations being soon established between its people and ours. One can only hope that the slowly expanding commercial traffic, and our own studious abstention from encroachments and annexation, may in time diminish suspicions, and engender better feelings towards us, and thus lead to the free exchange of commodities for which there is such ample opportunity.

Turning our gaze to the western confines of India we must remember how important a part is played by Persia in the shaping of the foreign policy of India. The country adjoins both Afghanistan and Baluchistan, and it may be almost assumed that Russia will never contemplate a real invasion of India till she has annexed the northern half, at least, of the Shah's dominions. Were

England determined to support the integrity of Persia, or at least of its southern provinces, the Shah might be assured of her guarantee against the perpetual fear of Russian aggression in the north. But our attitude towards Persia has ever been one of the weakest points in our Asiatic policy, and the consequence is that, while Russia is daily strengthening her position on the Khorassan frontier and the Caspian, our representative, as Sir Donald Wallace truly remarks, seems condemned to play a losing game.

As is well known, the British Minister at Teheran is under the Foreign Office, although the Indian Viceroy is furnished with copies of all important papers and information. When Lord Randolph Churchill was Secretary of State in 1886, he suggested that the direction of diplomatic relations with Persia as well as with Siam and China should be transferred to India, and the Viceroy replied that the proposal seemed a good one; but for some reason or other it fell through and nothing more was heard of it. Probably the Foreign Office in Downing Street was averse to the change.[1]

Sir Arthur Nicolson, the Chargé d'Affaires at Teheran displayed considerable energy in the

[1] At the risk of being considered egotistical, perhaps I may be forgiven for mentioning that I wrote several letters to the *Observer* some years ago advocating that the conduct of all our Asiatic business should be vested in one department, a suggestion which was practically not very different from the idea mentioned in the text above. I thought that a "Secretary of State for Asia" might lead towards more unity and strength of purpose in our Oriental policy. I was not, however, aware that the matter had been so recently officially mooted, although of

endeavour to effect better administration and improved communications in the south of Persia. But he encountered obstacles. He was confidentially told that the Russian Minister was talking vaguely about compensation in the north for any concession vouchsafed to England. This indeed might have been surmounted, for there is nothing that disconcerts your Russian statesman more than a firm front. But a more formidable difficulty arose in the refusal of the Treasury to incur any financial responsibility in respect of guaranteeing a British-built railway in Persia,[1] and the project had to be abandoned.

course I knew that some distinguished Anglo-Indians like Sir Henry Rawlinson had been in favour of it. Sir Charles Dilke, *inter alios*, was opposed to my suggestion, mainly, I think, on the ground that the greater part of Asia does not belong to us. But, if it comes to that, there is an Asiatic Department of the Russian Government (though it deals with only a fraction of the aggregate population of that vast continent), and a very useful and powerful Department it is.

[1] Curiously enough a year or two later I was led to examine and eventually read a paper before the Society of Arts on the possibility of constructing a railway from Port Said to Karachi, by way of Northern Arabia, Southern Persia, and Baluchistan, and the question of a British guarantee cropped up. Lord Currie, who was then the Permanent Secretary at the Foreign Office, and perhaps smarting under the recollection of the Treasury snub just referred to, was very emphatic as to the futility of expecting encouragement from that Department, although I explained that a yearly allowance for the conveyance of the mails was all that was needed in the way of Imperial subsidy.

No one else to my knowledge has ever gone into the matter of the construction of a trans-Arabian line, although from the researches I made I am certain it is feasible, and, while the Bagdad Railway is to the fore, most important. As to the Persian section of a railway to India, Lord Curzon's Quetta to Nushki line seems to presage the probable route. Opposition and outcry from Russia are to be expected, as a matter of course, but these may be discounted.

As to the future of Persia Lord Dufferin showed how unstatesmanlike, illiberal and weak Eastern potentates were by nature and upbringing. But he also laid his finger on the essential blot and canker of our Persian policy towards the Shah.

He asks our Minister for some definite assurance of support if in obedience to our recommendations he refuses some concession to Russia, and all he gets in reply is a few friendly expressions from which any promises of material assistance are carefully excluded.

At the same time, the Viceroy fully approved of the plan of extending British commerce in the South of Persia by means of railways. He did not, however, think it fair for India to give money by way of subsidising Persia. The line of develop ing trade in the south was energetically followed up by Sir H. Drummond Wolff and eventually met with success in the throwing open of the Karun to commerce.

In the Persian Gulf no radical change in the situation took place, so far as England's attitude was concerned. The independent *status quo* of the islands therein was maintained in spite of Russo-Persian intrigues, and the extension of Turkish Sovereignty over Koweit and the riparian tracts to the south was firmly discouraged.

With regard to the Somali Coast, which has of late figured prominently in our extra European politics, matters were in embryo at the beginning of Lord Dufferin's reign. The Egyptian Government had

determined to relinquish their tenure of the Somali Coast, and the Secretary of State for India, considering the importance of Berbera and Zeila as markets and ports of supply to Aden, suggested the deputation of a political officer to facilitate the Egyptian evacuation, and to conclude protectorate arrangements with the local Sheikhs. Lord Ripon's Government, though sensible of the importance of these two ports to Aden, had been very reluctant to become financially responsible for places more within the home than the Indian sphere of influence.

Soon after Lord Dufferin's arrival in India he wrote to the Secretary of State (on December 30th, 1884) saying he had studied the papers and was inclined to think, as far as the Indian Exchequer was concerned, that the best plan would be to place Aden and all its dependencies, including the island of of Perim, at the mouth of the Red Sea, under the Colonial Office. Failing that he would consent to India undertaking the management of Berbera and Zeila provided she were indemnified for all expense incurred. This was eventually agreed to, but as the revenues of those states soon exceeded the expenditure no indemnification became necessary.

CHAPTER XIII

THE INDIAN VICEROYALTY (*continued*)

MILITARY REFORMS—PUNJAB FRONTIER FORCE—PRESIDENTIAL COMMANDS—MILITARY STRENGTH OF INDIA—LORD ROBERTS' ACTIVITY AND REFORMS

THE military aspect of the Indian Viceroyalty has been admirably described by Major-General Sir. E. Collen, G.C.I.E., in a special memorandum which he, when serving as Secretary to Government, wrote at Lord Dufferin's request. It was a most interesting paper explaining as it did, at the outset, the peculiar features of military administration in India, The Military Department of the Supreme Government is concerned more especially with the financial control, organisation and general policy, and the Commissariat, Ordnance, and other spending branches are placed under it. On the other hand, the discipline, efficiency, equipment, training, education, and mobilisation, and what may be termed executive and the technical parts of the business, are in the hands of the Commander-in-Chief.

During the four years 1884–1888, changes were made in the administration and better organisation of the army, in raising its strength and in formu-

lating a plan for mobilisation, in reorganising certain army departments and developing the defences of the Empire.

One of the first questions that cropped up, was the transfer of the Punjab Frontier Force from the control of the Punjab Government to that of the Commander-in-Chief. This proposal had not been accepted by the Secretary of State in 1883, but in 1885, when the reorganisation of the army was taken in hand, the change became necessary. The occupation of Baluchistan had converted part of the old Punjab frontier into an internal instead of an external frontier, and it was embarrassing that the regular army in Baluchistan should be under different jurisdiction from that in the Punjab. The transfer was duly sanctioned by the Home authorities, and Lord Dufferin took the opportunity to express the high sense entertained by the Queen-Empress of the loyal and brilliant services which the Punjab Frontier Force had rendered to the State. The change was carried out in July, 1886, and has been attended with marked success.

The staff and commands of the army were also reorganised, this change having been necessitated by the extension of the railway system, and the occupation of Baluchistan and annexation of Burma. Instead of three classes of higher commands, it was decided to have only two (Divisional and Brigadier-General), while the staff of the Adjutant-General and Quarter-Master-General's Departments were

amalgamated, this being a plan which not only worked efficiently and economically, but had been partially adopted in England, and more completely in all the great continental armies. Certain new appointments were also provided for the staff and commands in Burma, the whole scheme being carried out at a less cost than under the existing system.

Another great question was the suggested abolition of the Presidential army system, a subject which had been considered by the Army Organisation Commission of 1879. It had been negatived by the Secretary of State in 1881, but four years later Lord Dufferin was so convinced of its necessity, that he determined to press it very strongly upon the Home authorities, and did so in a despatch dated August 14th, 1885. The Secretary of State and his India Office advisers were, however, not convinced, and Lord Dufferin had again to urge the matter on the attention of the Home Government. In a Minute of October 15th, 1888, he pointed out that the leading principle of the proposals was decentralisation in less important military business, the supreme financial and administrative power remaining in the hands of the Governor-General in Council. The Commander-in-Chief in India should, he submitted, be placed in command of the whole army, instead of his powers being confined chiefly to the control of the Bengal Army, and he would thus be given a direct incentive in carrying out economies. The four armies (Bengal, Punjab, Madras, and Bombay)

should each be commanded by a Lieutenant-General, aided by a strong military and departmental staff, while the Commander-in-Chief would be drawn into closer financial relations with the Government, and would become commander in reality, as well as in name, of the whole of the military forces in India, being freed from the detailed and executive business of the Bengal Army.

The Viceroy also set forth, at some length, his views on the military administration of India. He recalled the fact that many years before, it had been proposed to substitute a Minister of War for the Commander-in-Chief, while the Army Commission of 1879, though they did not favour that notion, recommended that the Commander-in-Chief should not have a seat in the Governor-General's Council. This proposal was passed over by the Government of India, and wisely in Lord Dufferin's opinion. He was, however, entirely opposed to the suggestion in Lord Lytton's Minute of May 16th, 1880, that there should be no Military Member of Council save the Commander-in-Chief, and that the whole business of military administration and government should be concentrated in the hands of the latter, assisted by the Chief of the Staff and a Financial Secretary. Such an arrangement, he contended, appeared to rest on a misapprehension of the true principles of military administration, for by it the executive command of the army, the financial control, and the functions of the administration, would be absolutely confused.

The result would be to burden the staff with duties of overlooking departments, from which a vast deal of the expenditure of the army proceeds —duties for which they were untrained and unaccustomed—and to lead them to neglect their real and practical work of preparing the troops in all respects to take the field. Such a *bouleversement* of duties would be impracticable to begin with, and most inexpedient in vesting undue power in the hands of the representative of the army, who would be more specially interested in pressing proposals involving expenditure than in exercising rigid and systematic economy. On the existing state of things, Lord Dufferin delivered himself in the Minute as follows:

> The present form of Military Administration in India, where every Military Department is worked by professional soldiers, has been tried during a century in every conceivable kind of campaign and expedition, and it has not been found wanting. It appears to me that when a force has to be launched on active service, very large powers are possessed by the Military Chiefs, and that the intervention of the Government of India is no more than absolutely required. . . . It will be seen, therefore, that I hold the strongest opinion that the form of the Supreme Military Administration in India should not be changed, but that opportunity should be taken to introduce improvements, whenever this can be done without impairing the constitutional structure.

The Viceroy then went on to mention the exceptional military operations which had had to be undertaken during his tenure of office—viz., the

Suakin Expedition, the war preparations of 1885, the campaign in Burma, and the expeditions to Sikkim and Hazara, adding that "though there are defects which may be remedied, the Indian Army and its military administration will bear comparison with any other army in the world."

The above Minute seems to me a close and masterly document, indicating the thoroughness with which the subject of this memoir assimilated topics which are often regarded as too technical and professional for the civilian to pronounce a very confident opinion upon.

With regard to the increase of the military strength of India, carried out in Lord Dufferin's time, it is necessary to bear in mind that in 1882 Lord Ripon had reduced the number of regiments in the Native Army, and a certain number of batteries of artillery, while increasing the strength of the remainder. This step had been taken for financial reasons, but it reduced some corps of good fighting qualities. The two great points upon which Lord Dufferin insisted were, firstly, the necessity for an increase to the strength of the British Army, and secondly, that the fighting element of the armies of India should be developed. He felt that new conditions had arisen, which rendered it necessary to place the military force of the country on such a footing as would enable a large force of British and Native troops to be put into the field against any aggressive movements of Russia, while at the same time providing for the internal security of the

country. In March, 1885, the Viceroy therefore recommended to her Majesty's Government that an increase should be made to the native cavalry and infantry of four thousand five hundred, and seventeen thousand five hundred men respectively.

The British troops at this time were dangerously low in point of numbers. The large strength to which they had been raised during the Mutiny had been reduced to a normal establishment of sixty thousand, but in 1884-5 this total had sunk considerably below this figure. Great discussion ensued between the Government and the Commander-in-Chief, on the subject of the proposed increase to the British Army. The latter was in favour of a large augmentation, but eventually it was decided that an addition of eleven thousand would suffice, raising the strength of the army to seventy thousand men.

Out of the foregoing arose the question whether the British Army in India was organised in the most economical and efficient way. In a Minute of December 8th, 1888, Lord Dufferin wrote:

> In Continental armies, the strength of battalions in a war establishment varies from seven hundred to about one thousand, the highest being that of the Russian Infantry, and we ought to be certain that the battalions of British infantry, and regiments of British cavalry in this country, are of sufficient strength to provide for all contingencies, and to admit of the considerable deductions which have to be made when regiments take the field. The establishments of regiments in India have varied from time to time, and both cavalry and infantry regiments have stood at a higher strength than at present. It is obvious

that while maintaining the army at the present strength, the most economical arrangement is to have large regiments of cavalry and battalions of infantry. There are, I am aware, some disadvantages in this arrangement, especially with regard to the reduction in the number of British officers in India, it will probably be desirable to wait until we see what result is obtained from the endeavour to form a reserve of officers from various sources, which would be required in time of war. The question should, in my opinion, be thoroughly discussed. It is imperative to seek relief to the finances in every possible way, and if my military advisers consider the plan feasible, there should be neither difficulty nor danger in carrying it out.

But there is another very important question connected with the British Army in India, viz. :—whether the present system of short service is adapted to an army in India. I believe that the Commander-in-Chief is of opinion that longer service is necessary for soldiers in this country. This is a problem which is surrounded by difficulties, and much can be said on both sides of the question. The system of short service enables England to have a large reserve, and at one time it was contended that the possession of this reserve was a great strength to India. Under certain circumstances this would be the case, but, on the other hand, we have lately had evidence, in our discussion of the mobilisation scheme with the Home authorities, that there is great doubt whether England, in the event of a considerable war, would be able to spare a portion of the reserve for Indian service. . . . According to calculations made, India has the services of the British soldier, on an average, for a period of less than five and a half years, and the expenditure in England, and in the conveyance of these men to and from India, is very considerable.

All these matters, Lord Dufferin contended, were deserving of careful consideration, so that the

portion of the British Army in India should be organised on the most economical principle.

In the same Minute he dwelt on various debatable points touching on the native forces. The inclusion of unwarlike races or tribes among them had led to the elimination of some of these from the Bengal Army, and Lord Dufferin more than hinted at further steps in the same direction, or utilisation of the men in military police work in Burma and other operations, so that the combatant spirit might not deteriorate. Another very notable step was the establishment of reserves of the Native Army. It had long been regarded as a blot that no plan existed by which, when war occurred, regiments and battalions proceeding on active service could be brought up to sufficient strength to take the field. Large numbers of native soldiers annually went back to civil life, and the army was practically one of short service, there being a considerable aggregate of young men scattered over the country who had voluntarily taken their discharge. It was decided, therefore, with the approval of the Secretary of State, to form an active reserve for the infantry, and a second or garrison reserve to consist of soldiers pensioned after twenty-one years' service, or who had passed their time with the colours and the active reserve. The linking of battalions for facilitating transfer from one to the other, and the formation of regimental centres or head quarters for the groups of two or more battalions, were also sanctioned.

Passing by the events in Burma, and the grand Durbar at Rawal Pindi, which from a military point of view necessitate but scanty reference here, we come to the important topic of mobilisation, This subject had been on the *tapis* for many years, but many distinguished officers had argued that the circumstances of India rendered it impossible for a system to be devised whereby a large force could be promptly put into the field. These comfortable but at the same time irritating views were, however, not generally accepted, and in 1886, the Military Department, with Lord Dufferin's thorough concurrence, formulated practical proposals. A strong Committee was formed with the Commander-in-Chief as President, to work out the details of a scheme. In most continental armies the changes among garrisons from which the units are drawn, are comparatively few, so that mobilisation is a more simple matter than it is in India, where the circumstances of country, occupation, and climate, prevent a rigid and permanent garrison system. All the regulations necessary for the equipment of certain army corps, the collection of transport and the provision of ammunition, ordnance stores and commissariat supplies were drawn up. In the branch of transport alone, the details had to be worked out minutely, not only for the regimental equipment of the army, but for the trains which would be necessary for the food and supplies of all kinds.

Lord Dufferin took the greatest personal interest

in the mobilisation scheme, and in his Despatch to the Secretary of State, enclosed a Minute expressing his warm admiration of the manner in which the Committee had conducted its arduous labours. To the Commander-in-Chief and his staff, to General Chesney, to Colonel Collen,[1] who had long made this subject his special study, and to Major Elles R.A., the able Secretary, amongst others, special thanks were awarded. The result of the Committee's labours was pronounced to be "a magnificent monument of industry and professional ability."

To the important discussion on the general strategical situation of Russia in Central Asia, and the measures necessary in the event of war, reference has already been made; it is noteworthy that Lord Dufferin, with characteristic insight, had commended various crucial points in the general question to the special consideration of the Committee, and that the upshot was a very complete scheme of preparation and action for such an eventuality.

A great deal was also done during the Viceroyalty for the moral improvement and social lot of the soldier. Lord Roberts in his book says that, though the G.C.I.E. awarded to him in the Jubilee *Gazette* was most gratifying, what he valued still more was the acceptance by the Government of his strong recommendation for the establishment of a Club or Institute in every British regiment

[1] Lord Roberts described the Colonel as "a particularly helpful member of the Committee."

and battery in India. The Commander-in-Chief's special object was to abolish that "relic of barbarism," the canteen, and to supersede it by an Institute in which the soldier could have under the same roof a reading room, recreation room, and a decently-managed refreshment room. Lord Dufferin cordially welcomed the proposal, and Lord Cross in the same enlightened spirit, gave his sanction, so that the Regimental Institute became a recognised establishment.

Funds having been granted, a scheme was drawn up for the erection of buildings, and for the management of the Institutes. Canteens were reduced in size, and such attractions as musical instruments were removed to the recreation rooms; the name "liquor-bar" was substituted for that of canteen, and that there should be no excuse for frequenting the liquor bar, at the instance of the Commander-in-Chief a moderate and limited amount of beer was served, if required, with the men's suppers in the refreshment room. The arrangement has been followed by the happiest results. Financially, as well as morally, these reforms have proved a striking success.

Various ameliorations were also made in the position of the native soldier by a revision of the good conduct pay rules, as well as those affecting pension, and by improving the lines or hut barracks in which they lived. Medals, too, for meritorious service and good conduct, together with annuities and gratuities, were granted on a system similar

to that obtaining in the British Army. This was done in commemoration of the Jubilee.

Amid a variety of minor changes and reforms the strengthening of the defences of India from attack by sea and land, ranks as one of the most important military events of the Viceroyalty. To the latter reference has already been made (p. 238), but in addition some of the principal ports received much needed attention. Something had been done at Aden, but very little had been effected at other places, the proposals of the Defence Committee having been put aside by Lord Ripon and Sir Evelyn Baring on account of the expense involved. Early in 1885 revised proposals for the defence of the harbours were placed before Lord Dufferin, and eventually sanctioned. The permanent defences of Bombay consisted of six principal batteries, suitably armed, on the mainland and islands, and two turret-ships. Less extensive but, nevertheless, adequate provision was made at Karachi, Calcutta (where, the Hooghly being very difficult to navigate, the need for batteries is not so urgent), Rangoon, and Madras.

Regarding the East India Squadron, a subject which comes within the scope of the Military Department, it is gratifying to note that, on the representation of the Government of India in 1887, the annual subsidy of £70,000 to the Admiralty was reduced to £38,500. Instead of six ships of war, four were allotted for service in the Persian Gulf and elsewhere, under the more direct control

Photo by] [*Bourne & Shepherd.*

MADRAS.

[*To face p.* 282.

of the Government of India. At the present day, of course, the Persian Gulf is a very critical focus of international politics, and it would be very greatly to our interest to have a stronger naval force *en evidence* there. But at that time, the southward pressure of Russia, Germany, and France in those regions, had not materialised, and there is reason enough to be thankful for what was done in the way of defence within the confines of India proper. Sir Edwin Collen sums up the situation by saying that "it is doubtful whether there has ever been a period of such active movement in campaigns and expeditions, in which so much has been done to raise the strength and condition of the Army, to render India safe by sea and land, and to effect valuable reforms in every branch of the service, as that closed with the departure of Lord Dufferin from India."

CHAPTER XIV

THE ECONOMIC SIDE OF THE INDIAN VICEROYALTY

FINANCES OF INDIA—RAILWAYS—IRRIGATION

THE financial features of Lord Dufferin's Indian administration are not so easy to follow and appreciate, unless one steadfastly bears in mind the radical difference between the "beneficent despotism" of India, and the robust enterprise of England's institutions. The duty of initiation and responsibility for the same lies directly at the door of the Central and Local Governments in India, so that any violent disturbing influences are liable to cripple administration very severely. Occasional famines, fluctuations in the price of opium and in the rate of exchange with the Home country, are among the best known of these influences. In these and in other respects the four years of the Viceroyalty were extraordinarily unlucky, and it is no small credit to Lord Dufferin and his advisers that these cumulative disasters were so successfully overcome.

A persistent fall in the exchange produced an aggregate loss for the four years of close on ninety millions of rupees, as compared with the last year

of Lord Ripon's administration (1884–85). This in itself was bad enough, but in addition came the Russo-Afghan imbroglio, involving considerable military preparations costing some Rx. 3,000,000. This, too, was only part of the expenditure, for Russia's proximity to the Indian frontier necessitated special defences, involving an average annual expenditure (including frontier roads) of about Rx. 900,000 for several years, and a considerable and permanent increase of the army in addition.

A third abnormal cause of expense was the annexation of Native or Upper Burma, the military and civil expenses entailed by the pacification of the country and its transformation into a province of British India being very great.

To meet all this increased expenditure it was clearly necessary to enlarge the revenue, and this was done chiefly as follows:

	Rx.
Imposition of Income tax . . .	900,000
Absorption of Famine Insurance grant	1,450,000
Revision of Provincial contracts . .	550,000
Increase of Salt duties . . .	1,725,000
Petroleum tax	65,000
Assessed taxes and Excise in Burma .	100,000
	Rx. 4,790,000

But even these important items did not balance the account, and the consequence was, that three of Lord Dufferin's four years closed with a deficit, the aggregate being about fifty millions of rupees.

There was also during Lord Dufferin's administration a considerable increase of the capital account for which the Home Government was mainly responsible, for they borrowed twenty-two and a half million sterling, while the Government of India borrowed only ninety million seven hundred thousand rupees. All this, however, it must be borne in mind, is not an addition to the Public Debt in the sense in which it is understood in England, for it is more in the nature of a mortgage. If the value of all the Indian public works, including railway and irrigation undertakings were estimated, the total value would probably be found equal to the liabilities. Whether this be strictly so or not, the borrowed money referred to above was very profitably invested. The sterling loans included some millions for the purchase of the Oudh and Rohilkhund Railway, six millions for redeeming the annuities of the Sind-Punjab and East Indian Railways, and minor securities. It also included a loan of Rx. 1,200,000 for the construction of the Bombay and Calcutta Docks, an instance of far-sighted enterprise which might well serve as an example to the mother country, which has been content to let the docks of her chief port and metropolis languish for centuries, without stretching out a helping hand to advise or even bring them up-to-date.

Turning our attention to the public works, which help to develop the country, and ward off famine, and which in India it devolves on the

Government to provide, it is noteworthy that 2,896 miles of railway were added to the open lines, while 2,861 miles were left under construction at the time of Lord Dufferin's departure. In the early days of railway enterprise, the work of construction, though under the direct control of the Government, was somewhat haphazard and unsystematic. But in 1880, the Famine Commission strongly recommended the institution of "Famine Protection" lines, a scheme which was worked up into a general railway construction programme under Lord Ripon, and duly sanctioned by the Home authorities. On Lord Dufferin's arrival in India he found that the scheme required over hauling, particularly in regard to frontier defence, which (as already mentioned) necessitated the addition of a system of military railways. One of the most important of these was the Sind-Pishin and Bolan line of connection between the Indus Valley and the frontier at Candahar. Between Sibi, which marks the descent to the plains of the Indus, and Bostan, which is within fifty miles of the Afghan frontier, there were run alternative lines, one through the Bolan Pass and the other through the Hurnai Valley. The difficulties of construction encountered in both cases were very great, but were triumphantly overcome by the engineers. Beyond Bostan, where the two railway routes re-unite, a single line runs through a tunnel (completed since Lord Dufferin's time) to Chaman, our frontier post. This line may be said in a measure to balance

on the south, the Kushkh railway of the Russians in the north, the objective point of which is of course Herat. Between these two lines, which project towards the ancient highway passing through Candahar, lies the mass of the dominions of the Amir, where no railways are permissible. How long these adjuncts to civilisation will be excluded from Afghanistan it is impossible at present to predict, but it may safely be said that until Great Britain has virtual control of her protectorate there, railway lines in Afghanistan might easily prove an occasion of anxiety rather than a blessing.

There was steady progress made with irrigation works at an aunual expenditure of about Rx. 1,000,000, during the four years of the Viceroyalty. The work consisted mainly in prosecuting undertakings already commenced, and the Swat River, Betwa and Gokak Canals and part of the Chenab Canal were opened. The Periyar project was also set on foot, this being an attempt to intercept and divert the waters on the western side of the Ghauts, where the rainfall is copious and secure (about one hundred and twenty inches per annum), to the drier regions of the east, where it is scanty and uncertain. A masonry dam 155 feet high, and 1,300 feet in length was to impound a large lake on the west, from which the water would be drawn off by a tunnel one and a quarter miles in length, into the basin of the Vaigai River on the eastern side. The area to be irrigated was estimated at one hundred

and forty thousand acres, and the total cost of the project at fifty-four and a half lakhs of rupees.[1]

On the whole Indian irrigation works give a fair return for the capital invested at the present day, while indirectly, of course, they bring additional revenue to the Government, and confer enormous benefit on the population.

The chief ports of the country also received much attention from Government. The policy has been to constitute Port Trusts, and these on the whole, have worked well. It is interesting, however, while the problem of the Port of London is occupying so much attention, to take note of Indian experience which proves that the Port Trusts have one grave defect: they are unable to raise capital on their own guarantee at a moderate rate of interest. Consequently, the Indian Government deemed it to be their interest to come to the rescue and give financial assistance to the Port Trusts of Calcutta, Bombay, Karachi, and Rangoon. In England the Government has not yet been educated up to this enlightened attitude.

Since the assumption of the Government of

[1] The Periyar project was eventually opened by Lord Wenlock on October 10th, 1895. As for the financial results of this great engineering enterprise it is too early even yet (1903) to speak definitely and precisely. But from Mr. A. T. Mackenzie's exhaustive work ("History of the Periyar project": Madras, 1899), we learn that there is no doubt whatever as to its great utility to the country. Madura had suffered long from drought and scarcity and many attendant evils, and the mere fact of pouring such vast stores of water down the bed of the Vaigai and through the distribution canals, has proved of incalculable benefit to the wells, the cattle, the crops, the pasture, and the fish, to say nothing of rendering a considerable population secure from want.

India by the Crown, there has been a marked spread of English education and sentiment among the natives of India. Sir Donald Wallace truly remarks that a great problem of the future is to prevent this class becoming a danger to our rule, and to convert it into an instrument for strengthening rather than weakening the Government. Coming, as he did, immediately after Lord Ripon, Lord Dufferin had a delicate function to fulfil. Soon after his arrival in India, he made the following remarks in a reply to the Corporation of Calcutta :

In alluding to the subject of local self-government, and to the exceptional impulse it has received under the benign auspices of Lord Ripon, you have touched upon a matter which has already attracted my attention. If there is one principle more inherent than another in the system of our Indian administration, it is that of continuity. Nothing has struck me more than the loyal and persistent manner in which successive Viceroys, no matter what part they may have played in the strife of party politics at home, have used their utmost endeavours to bring to a successful issue whatever projects their predecessors may have conceived for the benefit of the people. It is by adherence to this principle that we have built up in this country the majestic fabric of our Government, and it is needless for me to assure you that I shall not fail to follow a line of conduct consecrated by the example of Cornwallis, Bentinck, Canning, Mayo, and those who followed them. The Marquis of Ripon and his predecessors have prepared the soil, delved and planted. It will be my more humble duty to watch, water, prune and train, but it may not be out of place for me to remind you that the further development of the principle of Local Self-Government rests very much in your own hands. It is by an intelligent

discharge of your duties, by a conscientious care of the public purse by purity of administration, by the vigorous and economical promotion of whatsoever operations come within your sphere, that you will vindicate your title to enjoy the privileges conferred upon you.

This was the principle unswervingly borne in mind by Lord Dufferin. He also strongly commended the cause of sanitation to the local authorities, and to further this a Resolution of the Government of India of July 29th, 1888, was issued. The main effect of this was to assist local sanitary agencies by appointing in each Province a Sanitary Board acting in concert with the Chief Sanitary Commissioner.

The question of increasing the native element in the civil administration both Imperial and Provincial received very careful consideration. The so-called Statutory Civil Service initiated in Lord Lytton's time had not answered very well, the system of nomination being regarded somewhat in the light of favouritism, and Lord Dufferin arrived at the conclusion that a thorough and public investigation of the whole question of native grievances with regard to the constitution of the Civil Service, was necessary. This was sanctioned by the Secretary of State, and on October 4th, 1886, a commission of fifteen members under the presidency of Sir Charles Aitchison, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, was appointed. It included five covenanted civilians, six native

gentlemen from different parts of the country, an English lawyer, an unofficial Englishman, a representative of the uncovenanted service, and one of the Eurasians. It was thus a very strong Commission. Pleas, indeed, were put forward that other interests ought to be represented, but on this suggestion Lord Dufferin very properly put his foot. It was not at all necessary that every interest should be represented. The Commission itself was in a certain sense a "judicial" body, and it was essential that it should be a "manageable" body, so further numbers could not be added, as such an increase would interfere with its practical utility.

It is very interesting to my mind to find Lord Dufferin thus anticipating conclusions subsequently formed by the Government at home. When I first joined the Home Office in 1880, it used to be the fashion for Royal Commissions (whose appointments were all made through that department) to be large bodies, representing very dissimilar interests and views. These Commissioners not only produced voluminous evidence, but their reports, being endeavours to reconcile multifarious views, often of conflicting character, were seldom decisive enough to form an assured base for legislation. In his speech at Poona on November 19th, 1886, Lord Dufferin very sensibly laid down the axiom that the real representatives of the different views were the witnesses. But this salutary rule seems to have been ignored or misunderstood at home, for it would not be difficult to cite various Home

Commissions whose numerous *personnel* has resulted in minority reports of uncertain import. In 1900, though, a very thorny subject had to be handled—*i.e.*, the administration of the Port of London—and the Chairman of the Commission, Earl Egerton of Tatton, very wisely stipulated that the total number of members should be small, and the body a manageable one, while the members themselves should be high-class business men, rather than partisans or experts, however well qualified and conversant with particular aspects of the question. This was conceded by the Government and a Commission of seven appointed, which resulted in an absolutely unanimous Report. The same practice was adopted in the case of the War Inquiry Commission, and I should not be surprised if, in the future, small Commissions, organised on the principles laid down by Lords Dufferin and Egerton, were to become the rule.

The upshot of the Commission's recommendations, sanctioned by the Government of India, was that the recruitment of the Covenanted Service (to be called in future the Imperial Service) should remain on the then existing basis, except that the maximum limit of age for entrance to it might preferably be raised from nineteen to twenty-three. The Statutory Service was to be abolished, and the number of the appointments filled by locally recruited officers would be considerably increased, about a hundred and twenty posts being transferred from one to the other.

The vexed question of employing natives in the higher (*i.e.* Government as distinguished from the Administrative) posts was considered by a Committee of three (Sir Charles Aitchison, General Chesney, and Mr. Westland), and their Report, was forwarded to the Secretary of State in November 1888, together with a long and remarkable Minute by Lord Dufferin, one of the most admirable State Papers it has ever been my good fortune to peruse and study.

The main recommendations of the Report were the expansion of the Local Councils of Bengal, Madras and Bombay, and the introduction of an elective element with certain definite functions. This formed the basis of an Act to amend the Indian Councils Act, 1861, which was passed in 1892 (55 & 56 Vict., Ch. 14).

The Agricultural Department of the Government of India, though practically created before the great famine of 1877–78, assumed a good deal more importance in consequence of that event and of the Famine Commission appointed afterwards.[1] As famines in India usually occur through failure of the monsoon rains, extension of irrigation and of communications suggested themselves as

[1] The Revenue, Agriculture, and Commerce Department was started in the early seventies by Lord Mayo, one of the best Viceroys India ever possessed, but for some mysterious reason which, so far as I know, has never been disclosed, was abolished by Lord Lytton in 1879. An admirable statement of the case showing what the Department might have achieved, had it been properly supported, was given by Mr. A. O. Hume, C.B., in a brochure published by W. H. Allen & Co., in 1879. Apropos of Lord Mayo he made the following inter-

the first remedies. But the Famine Commission recognised also that more complete and accurate statistical information was needed throughout the country, and to obtain this it was recommended that an Agricultural Department should be established in each province, all being directed by the Central Department under the Government of India. This suggestion was given effect to. A provisional "Famine Code" was also published in 1883, which held good until it was gradually superseded by the publication of provincial codes based on a more careful and detailed investigation of local needs. The department's existence was also financially justified by the accuracy and cheapness of the new survey arrangements sanctioned, and the increased assessments often realised by additional acreage brought to light.[1]

In connection with the subject of emigration, there were some interesting developments. In

esting remark: "Lord Mayo was probably the only Governor-General who had farmed for a livelihood and made a living out of it. When he came of age (he was then Mr. Bourke), his father, whose elder brother was still living, could not spare him any allowance, but rented to him one of his farms to make what he could out of it. This Lord Mayo farmed himself. 'Many a day,' he used to say, 'have I stood the livelong day in the market, selling my beasts.' He made enough out of it to enable him to attend Parliament regularly from after Easter to the end of the Session."

[1] These points are of considerable interest and importance, but at the same time they are too technical to discuss at length here. In a work I wrote some years ago, "Memoirs on the Indian Surveys 1875-1890," I entered at some length into the revenue surveys of India, their character, objects, and results.

India emigration takes three forms: (1) that of temporary sojourn in the tropical Colonies of England, France, and Holland, (2) a shifting of population for a time from backward districts to districts where there is an exceptional demand for labour; and (3) permanent colonisation from congested regions to unoccupied cultivable tracts. During Lord Dufferin's Viceroyalty the first kind of emigration greatly declined, in consequence mainly of prosperous seasons in India and decline of the sugar industry in the Colonies. The decline so far as French Colonies were concerned was not regrettable, for it was found that the coolies emigrating thither generally returned home poor, and sometimes destitute. In the Dutch colonies, on the other hand, Indian coolies are generally found to be prosperous, and to bring home savings; and emigration to the Dutch settlements was therefore encouraged. The second kind of emigration is chiefly to large manufacturing centres, such as Bombay and Calcutta, and to the tea gardens of Assam. With regard to the third form of emigration, Lord Dufferin was concerned to find out how far it would prove a remedy for the widely alleged poverty of the Indian cultivator, and his frequent inability to get the necessaries of life. The average peasant has, however, a strong disinclination to move away from home, and a good deal was done to protect the ryot against any possible pressure from landlords by the Bengal Oudh and Punjab Tenancy Acts,

The Countess of Dufferin Fund.

In connection with Lord Dufferin's Viceroyalty of India, mention must in no wise be omitted of one enduring and most beneficent monument of his rule, *i.e.*, the Countess of Dufferin's Fund in aid of the National Association for Supplying Female Medical Aid to the Women of India.

The original movement owed its existence to the direct initiative of her late Majesty, Queen Victoria.[1] When Lady Dufferin was on the point

[1] It would be interesting indeed to know how many Acts of Parliament, how many philanthropic institutions and other developments of her people's happiness, were due to the inspiration of our late Queen. I remember very well when I was at the Home Office from 1880 to 1885, that numerous instances of this used to crop up. For instance, when she was at Nice in 1881, there was a fearful conflagration at the theatre of that town, and seventy lives were sacrificed. The Queen was terribly shocked and immediately wrote to her Home Secretary, commending the subject to his urgent attention, and desiring him to take all steps that were necessary to guard against the possibility of similar catastrophes at home. A circular letter was therefore issued to the Metropolitan and Provincial Authorities. So far as London was concerned, the effect was to lead to the prompt closure of three theatres, and to the structural improvement of several others.

It would not be difficult to cite other cases where her late Majesty's personal interposition profoundly influenced and modified public events, and I cannot but regard it as an unfortunate canon of our Constitution that the acts of the Sovereign are always held to be those of the Ministers. As far as *responsibility* is concerned, the doctrine is irreproachable, but the practice of concealing so frequently the communications between the Crown and the Ministers that may precede public action, is unfair to the former, and helps to bolster up ridiculous republican fallacies, both in our own country and abroad, that Monarchy is an inactive and purely ornamental institution. The initiation and commendation to Lady Dufferin's care of the Indian movement above mentioned was surely a happily inspired instance of far-sightedness on Queen Victoria's part.

of starting for India as Vicereine, she took leave of the Queen, and the latter, with that special solicitude which she always displayed for the weak and helpless among her subjects, earnestly commended the matter to Lady Dufferin's care. After careful inquiry, the latter arrived at the conclusion that to give effect to such a scheme, a large and sustained effort of an unsectarian and national character was called for. There was a conspicuous and universal want of skilled medical aid for the women of India, but how to supply it was a problem as puzzling as it was extensive. Not only was a considerable initial outlay required, but traditional prejudices would have to be overcome as well as the ignorance and superstition of ages. After sweeping away evil practices in existence, a spirit of philanthropy had to be aroused in a people who for generations had looked upon loss of life with the apathy of fatalism.

No interference with existing societies was contemplated. At the same time, however, the leading ladies and officials in each province were consulted, as well as other influential personages, both European and Native.

The main objects were defined in the prospectus as follows :—

1. Medical tuition, including the teaching and training in India of women doctors, hospital assistants, nurses, and midwives.

2. Medical relief, including the establishment of hospitals, dispensaries, and wards, all under female

Photo by] [*Elliott & Fry.*

LADY DUFFERIN.

[*To face p.* 298.

superintendence for treatment of women and children ; and,

3. The supply of trained females, nurses, and midwives.

Her Majesty the Queen Empress became Supreme Patron, the Viceroy was the Patron in India, the Lieutenant-Governors were Vice-patrons, and the Countess of Dufferin herself was Lady President, while Major Cooper, whose name occurs so frequently in "Our Viceregal Life in India," was the Honorary Secretary. The Association was formally organised in August 1885, the prospectus being published on the 18th of that month. All general affairs were managed by a Central Committee, but for financial and executive purposes the provincial and local branches were entirely independent, a small percentage only of the local receipts going to defray the requirements of the Central Fund. The function of the Central Committee was to act as a link between all the branches, to collect information, to give advice, and to assign grants in aid. Generally it had the responsibility of directing what might be called the policy of the Association.

A general meeting of the Association was held at the Town Hall, Calcutta, on January 27th, 1886. The Viceroy presided, Lady Dufferin being seated on his Excellency's right, and the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal on his left. The meeting was largely attended by the European and native community of Calcutta, and Lord Dufferin made an earnest and eloquent speech. He pointed out

that, in endeavouring to launch a scheme for the improvement of the medical treatment of the women of India, they were fulfilling their Sovereign's behests, and he then dwelt on the merciful and generous character of the undertaking. He defined the objects as follows :—" Our ambition is eventually to furnish every district, no matter how remote, if not with a supply of highly trained female doctors, at all events with nurses, midwives, and female medical assistants, who shall have such an acquaintance with their business as to be a great improvement upon those who are now employed. Of course, where the circumstances of the locality permit of a more highly organised and effective system, there our efforts will be more ambitious."

The meeting was addressed in turn by Mr. Ilbert (now Clerk of the House of Commons), the Bishop of Calcutta, Mr. Justice Chunder Madhub Ghose, Surgeon-Major Cleghorn, Sir Steuart Bayley, Messrs. Keswick, Goodrich, and Broughton, Sir Jotendra Mohun Tagore, and Syed Amir Hossein.

In the following month, advantage was taken of the Viceregal visit to Burma, consequent on the close of the war and the annexation of Native Burma, to convene at Government House, Rangoon, a meeting, under the presidency of Lady Dufferin, to receive a deputation of the Committee of the Burma Branch of the Countess of Dufferin's Fund. The gathering was of a very representative character, including Burmese, Chinese, Hindus, Mohammedans, besides the European members of

the Committee, among whom were Mrs. Bernard and other prominent ladies. An instructive interchange of views took place, and preparations were entered into for placing the Burma Branch on a sound financial basis. The fact that during the year 1901, five hundred and forty-four in-patients and sixteen hundred and ten out-patients were treated at the Rangoon female hospital, shows what a marked standard of usefulness has since been attained.

It would be somewhat beyond the scope of this book to notice the various enthusiastic meetings held and eloquent speeches made on the topic, both by the Viceroy and Lady Dufferin up to the close of the Viceroyalty. Probably the most interesting of these functions were the presentation of an address with twenty-five thousand signatures from the women of the Punjab, and a valedictory address (on December 4th, 1888) from the native ladies of Bengal. On the latter occasion the greatest privacy was observed in receiving the ladies, all male visitors being excluded, and nearly seven hundred people were present.

At the present moment the state of the Association and the Fund is most satisfactory and flourishing. Her Majesty Queen Alexandra has, at her own desire, become Patron of the Association, in the same manner as the late Queen. The Princess of Wales has become Vice-Patron, while Lord Curzon of Kedleston, the present Viceroy, is Patron in India, and Lady Curzon Lady President. The total number of women and children treated in

1901 in Zenana hospitals, wards, and dispensaries by female agency throughout the country was 1,755,734, an increase of 88,000 over the figures for 1900, in spite of the diminution of plague and famine throughout the country. The *personnel* of employees consisted of forty lady doctors of the first grade—*i.e.*, persons qualified for registration in the United Kingdom, eighty-two assistant-surgeons or practitioners of the second grade who have been trained in India and hold Indian qualifications, and one hundred and seventy-seven hospital assistants or practitioners of the third grade. One of the most satisfactory features of the past year has been the successful establishment of the Victoria Memorial Scholarships Fund for training Indian midwives, for which close on Rs. 650,000 has been raised by Lady Curzon. Generally speaking, too, there was a marked improvement in the financial condition of the Association, particularly in Bombay.

It is difficult to realise the multifarious development of this wide-spreading institution for good, without perusing the reports and statistical tables of the various branches, and these, like most Indian reports, owing to provincial organisation and a necessary decentralised system, are not susceptible of ready generalisation. But when we reflect that only sixteen years ago the field was an absolute *tabula rasa*, the above figures, meagre as they are, may convey some idea of the vast amount of positive good brought about by Lady Dufferin, her successors and their co-adjutors.

CHAPTER XV

LIFE IN INDIA

INDIA is a country of such utterly dissimilar climates and scenes that life varies *toto cœlo* according to the latitude, altitude, and rainfall, and as it is the Viceroy's function to traverse every corner of his vast domain, the social side of his existence is very far from being all of a piece, but must differ as much as anybody's in the world. This part of the subject has been so admirably depicted by Lady Dufferin, in her selections from her journal published by Murray in 1893, that while difficult to do justice to her charming descriptions within a small space, it would be a regrettable omission not to glance at some of her pictures. The following little bit tells of the organisation of the Viceregal establishment at the capital :

Each A.D.C. has his own department. Major Cooper is "Household," and he and I see to everything, and make ourselves generally fussy and useful. Captain Harbord has a kitchen to see after. Captain Balfour is a musician ; so he manages the band, and I have asked him to make it play every night from eight till nine, while we are at dinner. Captain Burn does the invitations. Lord William Beresford has the stables, and all the A.D.C's. are under him, and every detail is brought

before him. From the highest military affairs in the land down to a mosquito inside my Excellency's curtain, or a bolt at my door, all is the business of this invaluable person, and he does all equally well. He jots everything down in his book or on his shirt-sleeve, and never rests till the order is carried out. He has the stables very well arranged ; the "turn-outs" are very handsome. The carriages are plain, without gilding or ornament, but we nearly always drive with four horses, postillions, footmen, outriders, and escort, all in scarlet and gold liveries.

The Government House at Calcutta was so big and uncomfortable that Lady Dufferin made a complete change and moved into the visitor's wing, where her boudoir, instead of being a dull room without a balcony or a view, commanded a charming look over the garden, wherein crows, parrots and hawks held festive sway.

The favourite *villeggiatura* was at Barrackpur, about twelve miles up the river from Calcutta, and hither the Dufferins used to repair for brief respites from the State life in the capital. It was a park-like residence, not unlike Cliveden, the Duke of Westminster's former place on the Thames, now owned by Mr. Astor. The garden revelled in shrubs, palms and strange plants, with a gigantic banyan tree covering a great space of ground, its branches and offshoots forming arches and galleries and a spacious sort of dining-room which was used for luncheon. Lady Dufferin especially enjoyed this country retreat, which afforded a welcome relaxation after the drawing-rooms, dinner-parties, races, visits to charitable institutions and the

hundred miscellaneous functions of the capital. At most of the races Lord William Beresford played a prominent part, and though a capital rider (as well as a first rate whip) he occasionally got thrown, once dislocating his shoulder, and another time getting a shocking fall just in front of the Viceregal party. Fortunately, though he was rendered unconscious, and his face was bathed in blood, he turned out not to be seriously hurt; but the Dufferins' aides-de-camp, one and all, seemed to be always coming in for spills, although Lady Dufferin more than once entreated them to arrange easy jumps, she declared they revelled in the element of danger.

In March the weather in the plains begins to get unpleasantly hot, and those who can and may generally flee to Simla and other hill stations.

The favourite idea with some politicians at home is that Simla is a sort of Indian Capua, whither officials resort to enjoy themselves instead of working in the torrid plains. The real facts are better indicated in the following extract from one of Lord Dufferin's letters.

I must confess I think it one of the most horrid places I have ever inhabited, at all events for four months out of the six that the Government generally resides here. Its distance from a railway station is also a disadvantage and many a more suitable locality might probably have been found. But on the other hand the annual migration of the Government offices from Calcutta is, I consider, an unmixed benefit, not merely from a material point of view, but as enabling us to escape from a very artificial

and unhealthy moral atmosphere. Nor is our situation so far removed from the centre of political gravity as might be supposed by looking at the map. For many a year to come our chief pre-occupations will be connected with the North-West and Upper India, and Simla, as the summer residence of the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, and as within easy reach of the Lieutenant Governor of the North-West and of the Governor-General's agents at Indore and in Rajputana, may in a certain sense be said to occupy a fairly central position; while the fact of the Viceroy being beyond the reach of the innumerable fools who trouble him when he is residing at a populous centre is an immense relief to that hard worked functionary. But, on the other hand, I think that as a set-off against his long spell of hybernation in the hills, he should be very active in travelling about the country and personally making himself acquainted with its chief localities and their inhabitants at other seasons of the year.

The road to the well-known summer resort of the Government of India is very steep and angular, and Simla itself is thus described by Lady Dufferin:

The only place that I have ever imagined at all like this spot is Mount Ararat, with the Ark balanced on the top of it, and I am sure when the rains come I shall feel still more like Mrs. Noah. Altogether it is the funniest place! At the back of the house you have about a yard to spare before you tumble down a precipice, and in front there is just room for a tennis court before you go over another. The A.D.C's are all slipping off the hill in various little bungalows, and go through most perilous adventures to come to dinner. Walking, riding, driving, all seem to me to be indulged in at the risk of one's life.

Where locomotion is so difficult, especially when

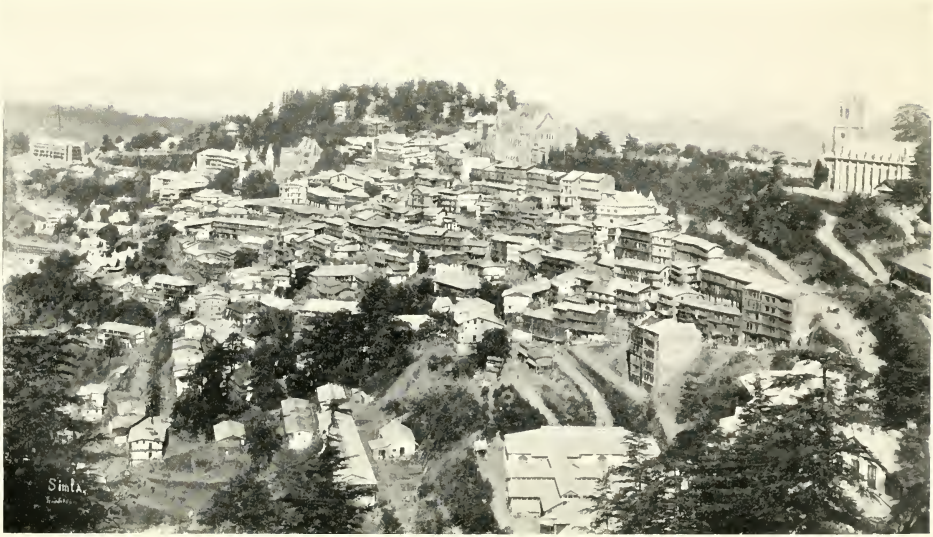

Photo by] [*Bourne & Shepherd.*

SIMLA.

[*To face p.* 306.

aggravated by the rains, time might be supposed to have hung heavily on Lady Dufferin's hands, but the following list of occupations seems to indicate that she managed to fill them :—

Hindustani.—Lessons four times a week. Preparation every day.

Correspondence.—Days devoted to Lady Doctors. Intermittent attacks of private letter writing, with four hours of it uninterruptedly on Fridays.

Entertainments.—"At home" every Tuesday morning. Dinners and dances or music every Wednesday fortnight.

Outdoor Dissipation.—A Monday Pop, and on Saturdays a "variety entertainment" when wet, which becomes a gymkhana when fine. Occasional charity concerts.

Exercise.—A walk in a deluge, wetting one through in three minutes, and penetrating the best umbrella. Riding mule or pony, and driving in a jinrickshaw, jhampan or carriage.

Evening.—The young ones play ninepins, and D. and I read.

While Lady Dufferin was busy with her Hindustani, it must not be omitted to mention that his Excellency was equally indefatigable with his Persian, and had the advantage of a peripatetic lexicon in the shape of a Persian policeman, who accompanied him at all times, and was incessantly being appealed to, to correct and inform his distinguished pupil. In 1887 Lord Dufferin wrote to the Secretary of State regarding these studies.

I am now pretty well advanced in that language though its acquisition has been a fearful burden to me, on the top of all my other work. When I began to learn it

I imagined it was far more current in India than it is. In fact I thought it was used by all the educated classes, but I now find that most of the Hindu Princes are quite ignorant of it, and that it is only understood by the Mohammedans. These latter, however, are very pleased when they find I can chat with them otherwise than through an interpreter.

The old Viceregal Lodge was little better than a cottage, the only thing really large about it being the fireplaces, which was fortunate, as during the first season the weather was exceptionally cold. However, in the intervals of hail-storms, dust-storms, and the normal downpour of the Indian Monsoon, a good deal of amusement was got through, in the shape of gymkhana meetings, Monday Pops, tennis tournaments, races *et hoc genus omne*. A fair at Sipi deserves mention, as fairs always seem to me such typical and characteristic functions in all countries. Everything worth seeing and hearing throughout the countryside for miles around is there concentrated, handicrafts, produce, costumes, amusements, food, drink, music and fun.

Lady Dufferin and her party rode to this village through forests of oak and pine, the hillsides covered with maidenhair and other lovely ferns the sun shining through the trees upon them, and the mountain view just visible between the branches.

As we approached the place we saw such a lively scene! There were about twenty merry-go-rounds, all revolving at once, carrying basketfuls of men, women and children round and round through the air; there were little shops selling the latest things in the way of novelties from

Birmingham, there were serpent charmers and perfumery monkeys, and men beating tomtoms with all their might and main; there was an elephant beautifully got up, and there was a little brass god seated in an arm chair receiving small coin. Last of all, but most important of all, there was the "bank of brides." Matrimony is supposed to be the object of this fair, and so, in a sort of amphitheatre on the hillside, sit the candidates for hymeneal honours! I will not declare absolutely that they were all brides, but, at any rate, there were rows and rows of women and girls dressed in their very best. Bright coloured jackets and scarves, and nether garments adorned them, while their heads, noses, ears, throats, arms and ankles were all heavily laden with jewellery. A really smart woman wears silver or gold ornaments falling over her forehead and almost concealing her hair, rings of great size and weight hanging from every available space in her ear; one of such gigantic dimensions in her nose that it requires to be kept in its place by a broad chain across the face, attaching it to the already overladen ear. Necklaces innumerable reach from her throat to her waist, quantities of rings adorn her fingers, and on her thumb she wears a looking-glass set in silver—a most practical ornament for so well decorated a lady; bracelets and anklets, of course.

One of the most interesting things to an Indian Viceroy must be the tours that he is called upon to undertake every now and then through extraordinarily dissimilar regions, ranging from the eternal snows of the Himalayas to the deserts of Rajputana, and from the sterile hills of British Baluchistan to the fertile plains of Bengal. So vast is the enormous expanse of territory entrusted to a Viceroy's charge, that it is not surprising

that Lord Curzon as recently as 1900, should have visited some Native States where no Governor-General had ever been before. Glancing at the Index Map to Lady Dufferin's book, it is astonishing what an amount of ground she and her husband managed to cover.

Some of the most characteristic scenes were those presented by the Rajput States. In Udaipur, in particular, as Lady Dufferin remarks, months might be passed without exhausting its carvings, old temples, and endless other sights. The palace is a massive castle-like pile rising from the waters, and at night its battle-moated walls, towers, gateways, domes, cupolas, minarets, arcades, flight of steps and arched windows, filled in with a lattice work of stars—all these multifarious details were illuminated—produced an indescribably beautiful and fairy-like blaze of splendour.

At Jeypore the Maharajah arranged some original and remarkable contests for the delectation of his guests. In a large yard surrounded by lofty walls and dominated by a round tower, an elephant combat took place. In the walls were a number of tiny doors or coigns of refuge for the footmen to escape by, when pursued by the elephants. Other single combats took place between quails, rams, buffaloes, pigs, and hog-deer, while later on a deer-hunt took place, the killing medium being a cheetah, blindfolded with a hood which was not removed till he was brought within striking distance of his prey.

Towards the close of 1885, a visit was paid

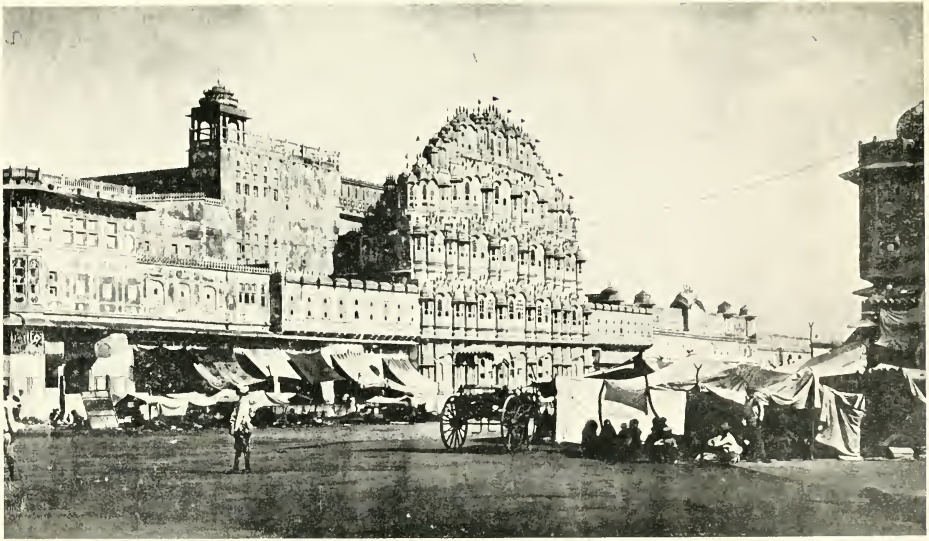

Photo by] [*Bourne & Shepherd.*

JEYPORE.

[*To face p.* 310.

to Scindhia the Maharajah of Gwalior, an occasion of exceptional interest as it fell to the Viceroy to announce to this powerful Indian Prince the restoration of the huge fort dominating his palace, which fort, with the neighbouring cantonment of Morar, had been originally occupied after the Mutiny. For many years the Maharajah had hankered for this, but the Government of India had been reluctant to relinquish their tenure of this commanding and important military post, and it was not till Lord Dufferin's arrival that it was felt that the precaution had become obsolete. As the Viceroy eloquently put it in his speech "Time with its healing hand, education with her divine light, and the irresistible and subtle influences of civilization had in the meantime been making great changes around, while order and tranquillity had succeeded to disturbance and unrest." One happy result of this beneficial change had been that some of the precautions at the time necessary, both for the protection of the Princes themselves, and for the maintenance of the Imperial authority, had become superfluous.

How really grateful Scindhia was, may be gathered from the fact that in his reply interpreted by Sir L. Griffin, he said that Lord Dufferin had fulfilled the deepest wish of his heart in restoring to him the fortress of his ancestors.

A notorious characteristic of Indian native life is the seclusion in which the women were maintained. No Englishman—not even the repre-

sentative of the Queen—could hope to break through the rigid social rule by which native ladies are forbidden to see or receive male callers, even of high rank. *Per contra*, a Vicereine, was of course, most welcome, and Lady Dufferin was thus able to represent her husband, where even his presence was barred. At Dholpur, however, the Viceroy was told that all his predecessors had interviewed the Maharajah's mother—with a purdah between them—and that he must do the same. The meeting was quite a success. His Excellency told the dowager princess that as she and Lady Dufferin were members of the same order (Crown of India) they must be sisters, and consequently he must be the princess's brother, and so privileged to come behind the purdah. He also said he was shocked to hear a man's voice from behind the curtain (this being the princess's little grandson), a remark which sent the princess into fresh bursts of laughter. On her presenting the Viceroy with a rose, he replied with gallantry, that the rose would fade and the perfume be lost, but that the remembrance of her gracious act would for ever remain in his heart. The only awkward *contre-temps* he foresaw, was that his wife would assuredly make a point of finding out who gave him the flower. All this was such a welcome change from the usual cold interchange of greeting "How are you? I am glad to see you," that it is no wonder the poor old lady was excited and delighted at what she afterwards told her son was conversation

indeed, compared with the normal dulness of her existence.

At Lucknow—another place visited in the course of the 1885 Winter tour—Lady Dufferin had the good fortune to be shewn over the scene so famous in history by General Wilson, who had been Assistant Adjutant-General at the time of the siege. The chief thing that struck an observer was the proximity of besiegers and besieged in those terrible days of 1857. Now for miles round the Residency are green fields and trees, then it was a dense bazaar up to the very gates. There was no walled fort or city, but a sort of large garden in which were a few gentlemen's houses and a church completely overlooked by surrounding houses and only a hastily raised mud wall to divide the enemy from the defenders.[1]

To meet the Viceroy, a most interesting gathering of the survivors of the Old Baillie Guard had been got together, but, unfortunately, Lord Dufferin was ill and unable to greet them in person. The house defended by the Baillie Guard was inspected by Lady Dufferin. It must have been within actual speaking distance of the enemy, and was peppered all over with bullet marks. The Guard, who were natives, were constantly being coaxed and threatened by their own countrymen and co-religionists to turn against the English, yet they remained faithful

[1] See recently published Selections from . . . State Papers in the Military Department, Calcutta, 1902, for a full record of those eventful days.

to their flag. At the Residency House, Sir Henry Lawrence received his death-wound, General Wilson being with him at the time. A shell burst in, took off the leg of a punkah-boy sitting there, wounded Sir Henry mortally, and tore off part of General Wilson's clothes. The smoke made it pitch dark and he said to Sir Henry "Are you hurt?" The answer was, "I am killed." On the building the English flag floated day by day; though shot or torn down, as sure as the morning dawned it was in its place again.

Burma is part of India, politically, and has been so ever since Lord Dufferin's reign, so a visit to that new and extraordinarily picturesque acquisition of the British Crown was a matter of course. It was just after the conquest of Upper or Independent Burma that the Dufferins paid their visit, and it is quaint to learn that "the landscape looks like a country of cemeteries, if you can imagine each tombstone about the size of the Albert Memorial." Mandalay, the capital of the deposed Thebaw, positively glittered with gold; the pagodas, the palaces, pillars, walls, ceilings, doors, and figures of Buddha, being all of the precious metal. Lady Dufferin says she got actually surfeited and tired of it. She had never dreamed or imagined of such masses of it, and failed to realise it all at once.

An afternoon party given by her Excellency in the palace was quite a success. About four o'clock sixty ladies or so arrived all swathed in lovely

colours and soft silks, diamond and pearl necklaces, and flowers in their jet-black hair; earrings too, straight tubes of amber, glass, jade or gold, pushed through the lobe of the ear, about an inch long and as thick as a lady's thumb. The guests arrived one by one, and as they had to come up three steps into the audience chamber, and as their garments were open all the way down the front, it required some management to walk with propriety. However, this was so deftly manipulated that no one could have known that the petticoat was a divided garment. It is curious that the Burmese, like the Chinese, their ethnical prototypes, consider it a mark of exceptional politeness to inquire their host's age, and this special mark of attention was duly paid to Lady Dufferin.

At Rangoon, a body of Christian Karens was presented to Lady Dufferin. This people dwelling in the hilly tracts to the north of the province, have a strange look, and are more persevering than the Burmans. Numbers have become Christians, they pay their own clergy and even send out missions to other nationalities. According to some old tradition of theirs it was decreed that a white-faced creature would some time appear on the horizon and would bring a mystic book; so in the advent of our missionaries, they saw the fulfilment of their prophecy, and opened their arms to the Christian religion, which they have eagerly embraced. They are particularly fond of music and can sing at sight, and the

clergyman in charge said the only punishment he had to have occasional resort to was to forbid the delinquent to sing.

It is amusing to learn that the Viceroy, like other exalted personages, occasionally grew restive under the secluding and restrictive influences which the etiquette of his exalted position was supposed to demand. He declared he was kept in "purdah" like a Hindoo lady, and insisted on being allowed to see something of the outside world. Accordingly, he sallied forth on a tasting expedition through the bazaar. Anyone who has had ocular and nasal experience of the cook-shops of the East (those of the Far East I can testify are bad enough) will marvel at Lord Dufferin's daring, but he religiously sampled pickled tea, palin sugar, betel-nut, and other indigenous products, to his own enlightenment and the amusement of the native shopkeepers.

A tour round India would not be complete without a visit to Madras, the "Southern Satrapy" or less respectfully "benighted Presidency." Here the hospitality of the Grant Duffs made the stay of the Viceroy and Vicereine especially pleasant. Madras now boasts of a harbour, but at that time the blocks of concrete for the breakwater were being washed away about as fast as they were deposited, so the landing through the surf was not without its drawbacks. The people were more demonstrative and less silent than most Indian crowds. The city itself bore a pleasant aspect, and as every house seemed surrounded by quite

a park of its own, there were no streets, properly speaking, and the distances were considerable. The society was smart and agreeable, and short though the stay of the Viceregal party was, it was thoroughly enjoyed.

On their return to Calcutta the Dufferins paid a visit to the site of the famous Black Hole, where so many people were suffocated to death in the early struggles of our people against native tyranny. The dead bodies were taken out and buried a very little way off, and Holwell, who was the senior officer and one of the survivors, put up a monument over the spot. Holwell was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds with the plan of the monument in his hand, and his descendants, who live in Canada, still have the picture in their possession. The monument was taken down some fifty years later, and Dr. Busteed, who explained all this to Lord Dufferin, was anxious to put up a stone to show where the Black Hole formerly stood, as well as a tablet in the church with the names of the unfortunate people who had died there, of which Holwell had been at great pains to preserve a record. Recently Lord Curzon has been at great pains to verify the exact site of the original massacre, and on December 19th, 1902, a monument, a facsimile as far as possible, of Holwell's, was erected on the spot, and unveiled by the Viceroy.

The Queen's Jubilee in 1887 fell in the third year of the Dufferin administration, but as it would

have been impossible to keep it at the proper time in June, on account of the hot weather, the celebration was fixed for January 16th instead, and for weeks beforehand Calcutta became a forest of bamboo spars for the coming illuminations. On the appointed day there was a copious list of honours in the "morning paper"; an inspection of three thousand troops took place early in the morning on the *Maidan*; a special service at the Cathedral; religious processions and processions of school children followed in various parts of the city; twenty thousand prisoners were released throughout the country, as well as all debtors (not fraudulent) of sums under Rs. 100, the Government paying their debts; then followed a grand delivery of about three hundred addresses in the race stand, converted for the nonce into a large amphitheatre, after which five tons of fireworks, costing some Rs. 20,000, were let off, the day's *tamasha* closing with a huge party at Government House.

In April the usual migration to Simla took place, and hither the Persian Consul-General from Bombay repaired some months later, to present Lady Dufferin with the Order of the Sun, on behalf of his august master. The drawing-room was arranged as for a Durbar; the Viceroy, Foreign Secretary, and all the staff were in full uniform, and the Consul-General was ushered in with great state. Lady Dufferin stepped forward and received from him a letter from the Shah, setting forth that the Order of the Sun of the Sublime Persian

Empire was specially designed for ladies of high rank, and that the Shah had conferred it on her Excellency so that "she might adorn her virtuous breast therewith, and remain under the protection of the Gracious God."

A little speech in Persian from the Consul-General followed the investiture, and a suitable reply in the same language was made by Mr. Durand. There was a fresh ceremonial the next day, when the Viceroy made a long Persian speech in reply, and presented the Consul-General with a handsome gold medal, which delighted that worthy immensely.

Sunday, October 23rd, was Lord and Lady Dufferin's silver wedding day, and Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace proposed both their healths in a kind and pretty speech, to which his Excellency replied.

Soon afterwards Simla was left for the plains, and at Umballa an interesting personage was met in the shape of Mr. O'Meara, the Simla dentist, who had just returned from Cabul, where he had paid a professional visit to the Amir of Afghanistan. His Highness was not overwhelmed with any *mauvaise honte*, as he had his stumps drawn and the new fangs inserted in open durbar, and his satisfaction appears to have been complete as he begged Mr. O'Meara to teach one of his armourers how to make a set for the Governor of Cabul. As the embryo dentist was no doubt aware that if the teeth proved uncomfortable, his

head would probably pay the forfeit, he devoted himself *con amore* to the business, and is said to have proved an apt pupil.

The Viceregal tour then led in the direction of Sind, the first noteworthy halting-place being Sukkur, where the bridge, then under construction, now spans that artistic river. Karachi, the extreme north-western seaport of India, presented the aspect of "a brand new town set down in a sandy desert." It is curious to read that then, as now, the burning question at Karachi was railway facilities. As Lady Dufferin truly remarked, the port is one day nearer to Europe than Bombay, and the good people of the town naturally objected to being secluded, there being only one railway and that leading north. Nowadays the prolongation of the railroad from Agra across the desert of Rajputana promises far easier access to the Gangetic plain, if the vexed question of break of gauge can be adjusted to general satisfaction.

On Sunday, November 13th, a treat was provided for Lady Dufferin, for she was enabled to converse over the wires of the Indo-European line with her sister Lady Nicolson, wife of the Chargé d'Affaires at Teheran.

From Sind the Viceroy's party went up the Hurnai route to Quetta. In a sense this may be regarded as the westernmost station or outpost of India, where she looks across a waste of deserts to the far-off countries of the West. It was in Lord Lytton's time that the Government made their

momentous step forward from the valley of the Indus to the highlands of Kelat. Since then Baluchistan has imperceptibly but surely glided under our ægis, and the British frontier now runs conterminously with that of Persia. In the process of time it seems destined to shift slowly westward till it moves across Persia and Arabia, enveloping the whole of south-western Asia, and joining Egypt and India in one homogeneous belt of red.

The transition from the Indian plains to the sterile highlands buttressed by the Suliman ranges is characteristically described by Lady Dufferin :

> The country is so unlike anything you have ever seen. The whole is absolutely barren, and it looks like a great storehouse of the earth's materials, rather than a finished portion of our world. There are piles of rock, and piles of sand, and piles of gravel, and piles of mud, ready as it were to the Creator's hand, but not yet used up. All is the same colour, and none of the prettinesses of life have any place here. There are no trees, no grass, no flowers.

I remember having read a converse description, that this region looked like a huge place where the waste products of creation had been dumped down after achievement of the glorious work.

Another remote spot visited was that of Peshawar, hence the party had a peep at the Khyber Pass, that gloomy portal through which so many of India's invaders have descended from the north-western highlands to ravage her fair plains. The wild denizens of the Pass were perched

on the tops of the hills that overhang the Pass, and they saluted as the Viceregal cavalcade rode past; but the distance was so great that the only evidence was the flash of the bayonets in the sunlight hundreds of feet above.

Here are some characteristic reflections on Indian gardens :

> You can't think how damp and nasty they are. The beds are sunk instead of raised, and there are ditches cut round each one, and the walks are kept wet and muddy and everything looks soaked and ugly. I cannot imagine having any pleasure in such bogs as they become. No, the proper and healthy thing to do is to have a gardener, but no garden—his duty being to provide you with flowers at your neighbour's expense, so that you always have as many as you possibly can want, and are spared the disagreeables incidental to growing them for yourself.

On Thursday February 9th, 1888, the announcement was made publicly that the Viceroy was to resign his appointment at the end of four years, and that Lord Lansdowne was to succeed him. An announcement like this perforce leads one to muse on the Viceroy system, and the maximum term of office, whether the latter is long enough to give fair and full play to the policy and personal influence of a particular Governor-General. Of course, one can conceive that a Viceroy might tire of his charge before the term of five years was reached. On the other hand, it does seem a pity where a man of congenial temperament and tastes is found, who is exceptionally well fitted for the

Photo by] [*Bourne & Shepherd.*

BOMBAY.

[*To face. p.* 322.

post and exceptionally popular, that the State should not prolong his term of office. Four or five years may not be too short to enable the Viceroy to make his mark in history, but if he is to watch over the early growth and development of whatever projects he may specially have at heart, common sense would seem to suggest that the Sovereign should not be debarred from exercising the freest discretion in the choice of his representative. It is too soon to speculate what fate may befall Lord Curzon of Kedleston, but if India's welfare were the only factor in the problem, there can be little doubt that his continuance in office might advantageously be secured for a term of years.

CHAPTER XVI

AMBASSADOR AT ROME

ITALY'S RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES—ENGLAND AND ITALY IN N. E. AFRICA—RAS MAKONNEN'S MISSION—INTERVIEW WITH CRISPI—DUFFERIN ENTERTAINED BY CITY CORPORATION—SPEECH AT KIRKCALDY—THE ESSENCE OF DIPLOMACY

AT the time of Lord Dufferin's appointment to the British Embassy at Rome Italy was embarking on the more adventurous phase of her African policy, which, in its initiatory stages, dated from 1880, when the Italian Rubattino Company, who had some ten years previously established a coaling station for their steamers in Assab Bay, ceded the same to the Italian Government. Apparently the latter took possession of the roadstead without any original design of territorial aggrandisement. In July 1884, however, Sig. Mancini was informed by his Cairo agent that Great Britain would be well disposed towards an Italian occupation of part of the Red Sea coast. An agreement was arrived at between Signor Mancini and Lord Granville, the former undertaking to co-operate in pacifying the Sudan. Italy's movements were spurred on by the massacre, in the Haussa country,

of the Bianchi Expedition, and in the early part of 1885, Massowah and Beilul were occupied. This provided Italy with an important *pied à terre* from which she proceeded to embark on a policy of extension towards the hinterland.

It is unnecessary here to trace the subsequent momentous events in any detail. Briefly, it may be recalled that the Negus Johannes's suspicions were aroused at Italy's apparently aggressive attitude, and that Ras Alula, a capable soldier, seems to have diplomatically worked on those fears. The utter defeat of an Italian column by the latter chief brought matters to a head. Fighting all around ensued, Menelek eventually succeeding to the throne of Abyssinia on the death of Johannes, who was killed at Metammeh, warring against the Dervishes.

Signor Crispi's entry in April 1887, as Minister of the Interior, into the Depretis Cabinet, had lent considerable backbone to that administration, and although there is ground for believing that he himself was averse from an adventurous colonial policy, the trend of events was too much for him. In addition to this, it is clear that the policies of Italy and Great Britain, who both surround Abyssinia, with the exception of the undefined hinterland of the French possession, were not so very dissimilar and called for a strengthening of their respective positions.

Towards France Italy's relations were not particularly happy. The coldness of feeling en-

gendered during the quarrels between Italy and the Pope, and intensified over Tunis, had led to the formation of the Triple Alliance, a compact which, in spite of all pacific professions, was calculated still further to widen the breach. The failure of the new Commercial Treaty between the two countries, so vital to the prosperity of both, but especially to that of Italy, led to the institution of differential tariffs with unfortunate economic results, and various incidents such as the cordial interchange of visits between the German Emperor and King Humbert all contributed to keep up a distant feeling between immediate neighbours, whose relations in their own interests should be uniformly cordial.

Such was briefly the situation when Lord Dufferin arrived at Rome to replace Sir Savile Lumley at the Embassy. Between Great Britain and Italy there was already a friendly feeling, and in ordinary circumstances the selection of so experienced and popular a minister would have made him a *persona gratissima* to the impressionable and warm-hearted Italian nation. In addition to this, though, Lord Dufferin, fagged though he was with his exhausting labours in a tropical country, came with the triumphs of his Indian Viceroyalty fresh upon him, and with the added dignity of a marquisate conferred[1] by a grateful Sovereign. It was not to be wondered at that

[1] On October 22nd, 1888. The Indian title was taken at the Queen's express wish.

the appointment gave special satisfaction and pleasure to the Italian Court. Soon after King Humbert presented to Lady Dufferin a fine portrait of himself—a gift which was much prized by the Dufferins, and which hangs on the walls of the gallery at Clandeboye.

In his relations with the Italian Government Lord Dufferin had a delicate but not uncongenial task. He was not quite persuaded, at the outset, of the absolute community of interests of the two nations; but eventually he became very sincerely attached to the Italians. He was also very fond of the country where he was born—as he reminded Signor Angeli in a farewell interview—and having gradually become a true friend of Italy's cause, he announced his intention of doing all he possibly could, not only at Rome, but in Paris, London, and everywhere, to strengthen the friendship which had so happily sprung up between the two nations.

The famous treaty of Ucciali concluded between Menelek and King Humbert was ratified in Rome in September 1889. The Negus's Envoy to Italy was his nephew, Ras Makonnen, Governor of Harrar, who has since visited England. Count Gleichen thus described the Ras a few years ago:[1]

> He is a small dark man with delicate hands, large expressive eyes, a small black beard and moustache and a most intelligent cast of countenance. His voice is very gentle and his manner extremely dignified and

[1] "Mission to Menelek" (1897) p. 42.

quiet. What he said was little, but to the point, and he gave us then and thereafter the impression of a man who wielded a good deal of power in a quiet way.

Although the Italians had some misgivings as to the Ras's Mission—misgivings justified, perhaps, by subsequent events—the official world busied itself in offering receptions and fêtes to the Envoy. Lord Dufferin, not to be out-done, got up an impromptu Durbar at the Embassy, which was a most tasteful affair and a striking success (so Sir Henry Nevill Dering tells me), and appealed strongly to the quasi-Eastern predilections of the Abyssinian Chief. Lord Dufferin's personal gift was a handsome and elaborately ornamented shield inlaid with gold.

It was in one of his interviews with Signor Crispi that the amusing incident took place that has already been told once or twice elsewhere, but in rather different ways. The real facts are these. The Marquess had come to speak to the Italian Premier on a rather pressing business, and, being duly announced, appeared at the threshold of the audience room. Crispi, with his brusque Bismarckian bonhomie, saluted his visitor with a genial wave of the arm, while giving the finishing touches to an urgent despatch in front of him. Lord Dufferin paused, whereupon Crispi, after a moment or two, turned round and again made a still more energetic and friendly flourish of the arm by way of invitation. By this time Lord Dufferin, however, had turned his back and was absorbed in contemplation

of some artistic productions on the wall of the corridor. It soon flashed on the generally quick-witted Sicilian that a ceremonious and punctilious reception of the Queen's representative was perhaps more important than even his pending despatch, and he sprang up with an alacrity that verged into effusiveness, to welcome his visitor, and beg him to be seated.

In May 1889, Lord Dufferin paid a flying visit home, and the City Corporation seized the opportunity to confer on him the freedom of the City "in an ornamental gold box," as is the custom of that ancient body.

It was an exceptional honour to be paid to a civilian, for, as the Chamberlain, Mr. B. Scott, pointed out in his address, the vast majority of those to whom the compliment had been paid were military and naval men. Earl Elgin and Earl Canning, both ex-Viceroys of India, by-the-bye, were the only two civilians on the roll. In his short reply to the address, Lord Dufferin dwelt on the spread of municipal institutions and government in India. Mr. Gladstone was present, with many other distinguished persons, at the function.

The evening banquet was, however, a far more brilliant affair, the number of the guests being three hundred and fifty. The Lord Mayor, Sir J. Whitehead, recalled how, at the age of twenty, Lord Dufferin had seen clearly what was just to his tenants, and what was their duty to the State, and how,

seventeen years before such a measure was introduced by any responsible Government, Lord Dufferin had been strongly in favour of securing to the tenants a legal title of value for unexhausted improvements; and as far back as 1854 he strongly advocated compensation for disturbance of tenants. He also quoted Lord Granville's eulogistic words: "Ten years ago Lord Dufferin created the Dominion of Canada. Not only did he make the Dominion more known in this country and in Europe, but he inspired the colonists themselves with nobler aims and greater aspirations; with a keener knowledge of the latent forces and strength of the country; and with a patriotism which will not readily die out." The Lord Mayor also made prominent mention of Lord Dufferin's distinguished services as Indian Viceroy, and of Lady Dufferin's merciful and beneficent work to the women of India.

In reply, Lord Dufferin proffered a full and elaborate acknowledgment of how much he was indebted to the chiefs of the different departments in India, whom he mentioned by name. He laid down also in terms, which I must say seem to me rather startling and uncompromising, the absolute responsibility of the Viceroy: "He and he alone is responsible for whatever is done in India. . . . Whatever may have been the genesis of this or that line of action, it is the Viceroy and the Viceroy alone who is properly held answerable by his countrymen, whether things go well or ill."

Considering the legal supremacy of the Secretary

of State, the above seems a rather downright assertion of the Viceroy's powers. Perhaps the gradual enlargement and strengthening of the Indian Viceroy's functions, may be in part, if not mainly, due to the order in which British Cabinets are usually made up. The most able and masterful minds are naturally told off in the first instance to the great British Offices of State. The First Lord of the Treasury, the Foreign Secretary, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Lord Chancellor, and the Home Secretary have to be appointed at the outset, and the minor posts have to be assigned, in more haphazard fashion, to the remaining approved candidates for Ministerial honours, as long as selection is possible. Mr. Chamberlain has certainly redeemed the Colonial Secretaryship from comparative insignificance, and lifted that office to the front rank. But India is still a far cry to the average British elector, and under these circumstances it is hardly surprising that Indian Secretaries of State should, in the majority of cases, be men of a calibre which is naturally predisposed to leave all real responsibility to the authorities on the spot. Anyhow, I have no hesitation in saying this, that during the last thirty years the traditions of the India Office have much changed, within my own personal observation, and that the functions of the department in Charles Street have more and more declined to those of a mere Home agency for the payment of pensions and purchase of stores.

If this humbler *métier* be more frankly accepted by future Secretaries of State for India, then Lord Dufferin's aphorisms may be justified. But the position in that case would be hardly reconcilable with the provisions of the Indian Councils Act. And in any case such an abnegation of responsibility should legitimately be followed by an abolition of the Indian Council, with a consequent saving to the Indian exchequer of several thousands of pounds per annum.

It is difficult to conceive of any critical division of opinion between the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, which would bring into question the problem of responsibility. In such an event I imagine the Secretary of State would be compelled to give in, for public opinion would assuredly be all in favour of "the man on the spot." But if ever the question does arise, Lord Dufferin's apothegm will be sure to be quoted prominently. Theoretically and legally it appears to me to be scarcely tenable; from the practical and administrative point of view I am certain it was correct. However, this reflection—though not without importance—is by the way.

An interesting comment on the work of public officers in India and England was let fall by Lord Dufferin in the same speech.

> Without disparagement to the accepted standard of public industry in England, I did not know what hard work really meant until I witnessed the unremitting and almost inconceivable severity of the grind to which our

Indian Civil Servants, and I will add native employés, so zealously devote themselves.

And he concluded his expression of gratitude to his subordinates, whom he mentioned by name, with a graceful reference to his Private Secretary.

If the late Viceroy of India has survived the labours of his office, and lives to dine with the present Lord Mayor of London, it is because he had in Sir Donald Wallace an incomparable Private Secretary, who relieved him of half of his labours (cheers), who enjoyed everybody's confidence, who completely effaced himself, and worked eighteen hours a day.

As to our popularity in India, Lord Dufferin was by no means optimistic. He was persuaded that, aliens in race, religion, language and customs as we were, we were not beloved or even popular. But without any strong sentimental element, the loyalty of India was based on a far surer foundation —that of self-interest.

Lord Kimberley in proposing the health of the Lord Mayor and Corporation also recalled some notable points. He had always taken special interest in Lord Dufferin who was his college friend and colleague, and whom he had had the honour to recommend to the Crown as Governor-General of Canada. He (Kimberley) was also Secretary of State for India when Dufferin was appointed Viceroy. The latter was a remarkable instance of a man who had enjoyed the confidence of both Governments.

Another good word was contributed by Lord Rosebery, who observed that Dufferin was a glaring exception to the rule that a man who had never made a mistake had never made anything. He himself had overheard Dufferin speak of himself in the House of Lords as the Government "maid of all work," and for the sake of the Empire he trusted it were possessed of many more such industrious virgins.

During the following month (June) Lord Dufferin was honoured with the dignity of LL.D. from Cambridge, and D.C.L. from Oxford University.

In the ensuing summer holidays he repaired to Scotland, and while staying at Perth, Kirkcaldy, the residence of his son-in-law, Mr. R. C. Munro-Ferguson, M.P., he accepted the honour of the freedom of the borough of Kirkcaldy, a distinction that during the previous eighty years had been conferred by the Corporation only three times, viz. on Richard Cobden, 1843; Sir William Harcourt, 1859, and Sir Sandford Fleming, 1882. The proceedings in 1889 were enlivened by a humorous speech from Lord Dufferin, in the course of which he descanted on his Scoto-Hibernian origin.

It is very much disputed whether a residence of three hundred years in that island (Ireland), accompanied by a large intermixture of genuine Celtic blood, gives me any right to call myself an Irishman. Still, we all know that the more rare and delicate and precious a thing is, the more difficult it is to manufacture it; and perhaps, if I am not an Irishman, I am—like those rare drops that take a thousand years of nature's alchemy to con-

vert into diamonds—in a fair way to become one. If I am not an Irishman then I certainly must be a Scotchman, and that is by no means an intolerable alternative (great laughter and cheers).

Lord Dufferin told me it was during his Ambassadorship at Rome that his most brilliant diplomatic success was achieved. One day the daughter of a Scotch peer, an old friend of his, appealed to him in dire distress. She had married an American citizen, but desiring to be presented at the Italian Court by her husband's Minister, had discovered that under the free, democratic institutions of the Stars and Stripes she was not Lady Mildred —— at all, but plain Mrs. ——. Lord Dufferin interested himself in the case and communicated with the King's Chamberlain, but the real difficulty lay with the levelling tenets of the United States, of which their Minister at Rome was a jealous custodian. However, our Ambassador sent for the husband, who was (or ought to have been) at least neutral in the matter. The Marquess's first enquiry of the gentleman was as to the attitude of the American Minister. Might it be assumed that "the old Min" was friendly? Mr.—— responded that the United States Minister was quite friendly, but that officialism and republicanism combined were strong, nay invincible, in his patriotic breast and that nothing would persuade him or his wife to present Lady Mildred —— as anything but Mrs. ——.

"Never mind that," was the Marquess's reply,

"as long as he is friendly. Get him to write a formal request to the King's Chamberlain that your lady may attend the next Court for the purpose of being presented, but see that the letter is written throughout *in Italian and not in English.*"

("The essence of diplomacy," Lord Dufferin explained to me, at this point of his narrative, "is to turn the corner of a brick-wall, rather than to run your head against it.")

The Italian letter was duly written and despatched, and at the same time Lord Dufferin took on himself to convey privately to the Italian Court authorities that the regular designation of the lady, who had been described as Donna Mildred —— was, in her native land of Great Britain, Lady Mildred ——, in which designation the presentation was formally made and published.

CHAPTER XVII

PARIS

THE NORTON FORGERIES—THE EMBASSY PALACE—THE PRINCESS BORGHESE—LORD WARDEN OF THE CINQUE PORTS AND INSTALLATION—SPEECH AT CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

"TO be an Ambassador in Paris is recognised in every country as the ultimate reward and prize of the diplomatic profession." This was how Lord Dufferin himself described, in a speech, the post he was called upon to occupy on December 11th, 1891. He was not the first ex-Viceroy of India to whom was assigned this office, for his immediate predecessor, Lord Lytton, who was by four years the junior of the two Statesmen, had also filled both posts, dying in harness on November 24th, 1891.

The political state of affairs in France during the year 1891 was quiet enough, the year being one of the four in the annals of the Republic which passed without a change of ministry. But the agitation of 1892 was destined to counterbalance the comparative repose of the two preceding years, and in the *mêlée* of denunciations our Ambassador was not to go scatheless.

Shortly after his arrival in Paris rumours were circulated that his Excellency had come equipped with boundless wealth, for the purpose of corrupting Deputies and the Press, the grand objective being the detachment of France from the Russian alliance. Later on these allegations hardened into definite charges of a secret correspondence between Mr. (now Sir) Henry Austin Lee and Sir Villiers Lister at the Foreign Office. The readiness of members of the Government to attach any credence to them excited great surprise in diplomatic circles. The letters were very soon proved to be forgeries, concocted by a mulatto of the name of Norton. But the charges had been so freely bandied about that at a meeting of the British Chamber of Commerce on February 13th, 1893, definite reference was made thereto.

In his reply, Lord Dufferin, who was suffering from influenza, said it was a new experience for an ambassador to be caught in the *engrenage* of the domestic politics of the country to which he was accredited. He had not taken any notice of the attacks, so far as to make them the subject of official complaint. But after Sir E. Blount's allusions he felt compelled to nail the lies to the counter, and took the occasion to deny outright the calumnies that were in circulation about him; as he understood, it was three millions of francs that he was accused of having brought over for the purposes of bribery. For himself he had studiously kept clear of the Press "interviewer," warned by the

bones and empty skulls of so many of his colleagues and predecessors that marked the approach to his den. Since his arrival in Paris he had not spent sixpence that had not gone into the pocket of his baker, butcher, or that harmful but necessary lady, the avenger of the sins of Adam, whose bills every householder who values his domestic peace pays with alacrity and without examination—the family *couturière*.

The Embassy itself is an interesting and not unworthy home for so dignified a plenipotentiary. Although the Rue du Faubourg St. Honoré is not a particularly attractive or handsome thoroughfare, it can boast of many fine mansions, including the Elysée, now the residence of the Chief of the State, and a little further east the British Embassy. Spacious courtyards shut off these mansions from the street, and at the back there are charming gardens which extend down to the Avenue des Champs Elysées. A writer in the *World* declared, with perhaps pardonable enthusiasm, some years ago, that when you stood on the balcony of the great drawing-room of the Embassy and looked towards the Avenue, you might fancy yourself a thousand miles in the country, so completely are you surrounded by the great planes, elms, chestnuts, and sycamores, and so fine and clear and full of nature's music is the air. The house itself was originally the palace of the Princess Pauline Borghese, sister of the great Napoleon, and in 1815 it was sold outright to the Duke of Wellington

for £24,000, it is said,[1] a sum incomparably less than its present value. The same year Viscount Castlereagh, British plenipotentiary to the Congress of Paris, occupied it, and was visited there by Sir Walter Scott, who mentions he had also seen there at various times, "The Emperor Alexander, Platoff, Schwarzenberg, old Blücher, and Fouché."

I had the pleasure of being shown over the house by Lord Dufferin, towards the close of his tenure of office, and though he told me that he was "flitting," and though the Embassy was stripped of all the gorgeous Indian, Burmese, and Asiatic trophies and curios which are now crowded into the hall and staircases of Clandeboye, still the permanent decorations and furniture of the Princess's abode, all in the "Empire" style, impart an indescribable air of old-world distinction and elegance to the apartments. The fixtures, the solid furniture, the clocks, candelabra, curtains and hangings, are in superb taste.

Of the original owner many stories are told. Canova, the sculptor, modelled a statue of her in such excessively scanty raiment, that the prince in his wrath consigned the work of art to the recesses of a dark cupboard, where inspection was only permitted beneath the grudging beams of a solitary taper. However, this fortunately is not

[1] It included a house in the Rue d'Anjou close by, where the Embassy stables now are. I may mention these few pages were written some months before the King's visit to Paris had turned public attention to the Embassy buildings.

the only surviving presentment of so famous a beauty. There is a picture of her still to be seen in the Embassy, the drapery in which is about as voluminous as that pertaining to the Venus di Medici. When the Princess was asked whether she did not find sitting under these circumstances somewhat trying, she replied with perfect *naïveté*, "Oh! no! the studio was *quite warm!*"

The state and reception rooms are on the ground floor where is the "Queen's Room," furnished for her late Majesty when she last visited the Embassy. It is upholstered in cream satin damask and on the walls is a fine full-length portrait of Queen Victoria, copied from that at Windsor by Winterhalter.

On the death of Mr. W. H. Smith, M.P., Lord Dufferin was appointed Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, a very ancient dignity dating at least from the year 1053, when Godwyne, Earl of Kent, was Lord Warden. Between him and Lord Salisbury, the present holder of the office, there have been just one hundred and fifty distinguished persons appointed thereto, a list which, as Lord Dufferin afterwards remarked, "beginning with Earl Godwyne, King Harold, William Longspée, Earl of Salisbury, Edward the Black Prince, Edmund Plantagenet, Warwick the King Maker, and many other equally illustrious nobles, terminates in such a blaze of illustrious personages as Pitt, Wellington, Dalhousie, Palmerston, Granville, and though last, not least, that single-hearted duty-

loving, typical Englishman, the late lamented leader of the English Parliament."

From the Royal Warrant of Appointment or Letters Patent signed by Sir Kenneth Muir Mackenzie, and dated November 23rd, 1891, it appears that the Castle of Dover with the appurtenances, and also the Office of Warden and Keeper of our Cinque Ports and their members were given and granted to the Marquess, as well as the Office of Admiralty and "all manners of wrecks of the sea, jetsam, flotsam, and lagan goods, merchandises and effects cast away and wrecked or lost or which shall be taken up, gotten or recovered."

I do not find Walmer Castle mentioned, but this is undoubtedly the official residence of the Lord Warden, and the Dufferins resided there on rare occasions. In the recollections of some of us—I fear we are a waning minority—Walmer Castle is chiefly associated with the Iron Duke, although there have since been six tenants of that historic edifice.

The installation of the Marquess took place at Dover on June 22nd, 1892. This most interesting and brilliant ceremony had not been celebrated since Lord Palmerston's time in 1861.[1] The installation commenced with the holding of the Court of Shepway, consisting of Dover, to which were attached Folkestone, Faversham and Margate

[1] This was the same year that "Pam" rode down to Harrow, his old school, and laid the foundation stone of the Vaughan Library. The old Premier, with the dust of the road thick upon him, presented himself at the Head Master's door, but the discreet butler did not admit him till satisfied of the visitor's entire respectability.

as limits ; Sandwich, with Deal and Ramsgate ; New Romney with Lydd, Hastings and Hythe. Besides these the jurisdiction of the Lord Warden extends over the two ancient towns of Rye (to which is attached Tenterden) and Winchelsea. Since 1861 Pevensey and Seaford had ceased to be incorporated towns, while Ramsgate had been incorporated.

Lord and Lady Dufferin, with most of their family and several friends, drove over from Walmer Castle on the morning of the 22nd. The new Lord Warden wore the appropriate uniform of his office—a frock coat of blue cloth, with scarlet facings and brass buttons bearing the Cinque Ports' arms, an Admiral's sword and cocked hat. He drove up to the Castle where he was met by the delegates of the various towns, headed by the Mayor of Hastings as speaker. The rendezvous was in the large banqueting hall of the Castle, a fine old Norman hall, which usually forms one of the armouries, but which had been cleared of its glistening piles of arms. The gaily-coloured robes of the Combarons showed up bravely against the old stone walls.

A procession was then formed *en route* for the old Church of St. Mary in the Castle. A special service, authorised by the Archbishop of Canterbury, was conducted by the Bishop of Dover. In his sermon the latter referred to the historic ground on which all were standing.

This ancient church, from the pulpit of which I can

touch Roman bricks, with its adjoining Pharos, the British and Saxon fortifications, the huge Norman Keep, and the Well renowned in history, each in its turn conjures up in imagination its own generation of Roman Emperors and British Kings, of Saxon Earls and Norman warriors, and tells us that our liberties and institutions are not the inventions of later ages, but the slow and ordered growth of the spirit of a people great from the first. The spirit of the British race, described by Milton as "quick, piercing and ingenious" is nowhere better shown than in the early history of the Cinque Ports. It recalls the best days of Athenian supremacy. It shows the cradle of our greatest institutions of defence and of justice alike. If our fleet is the greatest in the world to-day, it is because it is animated by the same spirit which in the fifty-seven rude ships, again and again, unbidden by Monarch, swept the invader from our shores. It was, as Macaulay truly says, "the courage of those sailors who manned the rude barks of the Cinque Ports that first made the flag of England terrible on the sea."

After an allusion to Michael Angelo, who, gazing at a single unhewn block of marble, declared he saw an angel in that stone, and by the help of God meant to have it out, the Bishop touched on the ancient function and meaning of the privileges of the Wardens and Barons of the Cinque Ports, and concluded with an appropriate reference to the personal achievements of their new Lord Warden.

This is the true consecration of office: to set duties above decorations, and responsibilities above rights, and to find the highest end of life in the unselfish service of men. . . . We invoke God's blessing then upon him who enters to-day upon the high office to which he has

been chosen by our Sovereign. We thank God for the splendid record of high endowments and unselfish patriotism which he brings to his new position, and if the motto of his noble house has borne a meaning before, as it often must have done in times of perplexity and doubt, we trust that it may bear henceforth, more than ever, the highest meaning that it can, in the consecration of all life to God. *Per vias rectas*, "Through straight ways" should find an echo of inspiration and comfort in the words of the Wise Man, "In all thy ways acknowledge Him and He shall direct thy paths."

The procession then reformed, reinforced by a number of local Societies with their bands, and a detachment of the 5th Lancers, the Lord Warden, with an escort of the 1st King's Dragoon Guards and a large bevy of friends and officials, bringing up the rear. A move was made for the Bredenstone Hill,[1] whither the Court of Shepway had been summoned by precept, and where the installation ceremony was to take place. The precept itself, couched in mediæval phraseology, was duly read by the Seneschal, Mr. (now Sir) E. Wollaston-Knocker, C.B., and the returns thereto from the various towns were handed in. The Court was then formed and the Marquess having declared that he had been nominated by

[1] It was indicative of Lord Palmerston's energy that at seventy-six years of age he insisted on climbing the hill to the Bredenstone. Lord Salisbury, I am told, found the hill too steep. The Bredenstone is believed to be the foundation of the Roman Pharos. Some years ago it was built into some barracks erected on the hill, and there are only remains of it now to be seen.

her Most Gracious Majesty to the vacant office of Constable of the Castle of Dover, Lord Warden, Admiral and Chancellor of the Cinque Ports, two Ancient Towns and their members, the Patent of the office was duly read. The Mayor of Hastings, Speaker of the Court of Shepway, requested Lord Dufferin to take up the office, and the latter acceded thereto. This was received with a reverence, and the battery of the fort gave a salute of nineteen guns.

Mr. Arthur Cohen, Q.C., Judge of the Court of Admiralty of the Cinque Ports, then delivered an eloquent congratulatory address to the new Lord Warden dwelling specially on the antiquity of the proceedings. He also made a happy comparison between the present and some of the former holders of the office. Lord North, distinguished as he was, had severed the political union between England and America, whereas Lord Dufferin's earnest effort and conspicuous merit had been to bind closer the ties between the mother country and her offshoots beyond the seas. Pitt, from the battlements of Walmer Castle, had anxiously watched for tidings and tracings of the invading armament collected on the other side by England's formidable foe. Pitt placed himself at the head of the Cinque Ports Volunteers, who, exceeding three thousand, were longing to bear the first shock of the threatened invasion. But Lord Dufferin as her Majesty's representative in France was able to use his singular diplomatic tact and skill in teaching these two nations to appreciate and understand each other

better, and to extend and strengthen the friendly relations between England and France.

Lord Dufferin after acknowledging the honour conferred upon him, drew a contrast between the endeavours of the French to cut themselves off from the traditions of the political past, and the better English plan of preserving as far as possible the original institutions inherited from their fathers, at the same time that they improved and liberalised them.

In the evening a brilliant banquet was given in the Town Hall by the Lord Mayor (Sir William Crundall), in honour of the occasion.

Lord Brabourne in proposing the toast of the evening recalled the fact that he himself, thirty years previously, had introduced a deputation to Lord Palmerston, the object of which was to prevent the office of Lord Warden from being done away with. In this effort he and his friends had been successful, Lord Palmerston later on succeeding to the very office. Lord Brabourne went on to say he could claim a long personal friendship with the Marquess, but for the information of those of his hearers who were not so fortunate, he took the opportunity to recall some of the principal chapters of his career. They would not ask from him the services which might have been required by their forefathers of a person in a similar position ; they would not ask him to lead the Cinque Ports Squadron forth into battle, nor to spend the midnight oil in making Dover Castle impregnable ;

but they would expect him to assist in the development of Dover Harbour and in works of a similar kind along the coast, and objects of social improvement; and he knew their new Lord Warden would give them counsel and encouragement.

Lord Dufferin's reply was not long, but he dwelt happily on the peacemaking objects of his Ambassadorship, as contrasted with the more warlike duties of former Lord Wardens.

> Charged as they were with the responsible duty of guarding your coasts from Continental attacks, their vigilance and their purview as sentinels were curtailed and baffled by the barrier of silver foam that has marked and bordered their ancient beat; whereas in my capacity as British Ambassador to the French Republic, I am, as it were, a martello tower planted at the very nerve-centre of the political life of Europe, a martello-tower armed not indeed with frowning guns and weapons of offence, but with electric wires and soft-speaking tubes and all the other peaceful appliances which serve to transmit messages of goodwill from one nation to another, and to disperse those little clouds, which, though no bigger than a man's hand when first generated on the banks of the Seine, used only too often to translate themselves into threats of war, nay, the thunder of battle, ere they crossed the channel.

Although these were an Ambassador's normal functions, Lord Dufferin knew full well that the most skilful diplomatic efforts would prove a very feeble barrier in case of a war of popular passion, and that, as in old times, ships and guns should be a country's and a Warden's chief reliance.

But as lightning conductors which prevent the gathering electricity in the heavens and earth from acquiring the condition of unstable equilibrium which permits the merest accident to produce the fatal flash, so the timely warnings, the conciliatory representations, the ingenious suggestions of a Diplomatic Agent ought to anticipate, and by anticipating prevent, the nascent causes of international strife from assuming uncontrollable proportions. For, gentlemen, believe me, whatever may once have been the case, good diplomacy does not consist in fraud, deceit and foul dealing, in the overreaching of one nation by another in one-sided agreements or unfair bargains. On the contrary, a first-rate negotiator will show his skill amid the shock of conflicting interests not by outwitting his colleagues, but by the discovery of some expedient or some issue which shall be mutually acceptable to both parties. Nay, I will go a step further and I will say, that, next to the interests of his own country, an Ambassador has naturally most at heart the interests of the country to which he is accredited. At least, that is my experience.

After a complimentary reference to the French nation whose kindness, polish, courtesy of intellect, gaiety of temperament, wit and vivacity, recalling in so many respects the amiable characteristics of his own Irish countrymen, rendered them "the most attractive race in Europe," Lord Dufferin concluded with a reflection on his own official functions.

The Diplomatic Service is to the body politic of the world what the nervous system is to the body of the individual man, penetrating to its remotest extremities, reflecting every vibration however minute, every premonitory symptom however imperceptible, whether of popular impulse or political effort, every tremor of com-

mercial or financial disturbance, the chief agent through which the conflicting forces seething in the breasts of the various nations of the earth are harmonised, modulated and controlled. It is upon their intelligence and upon their vigilance that we are in a great measure dependent for the maintenance of peace; for it is they who now fulfil the functions once discharged by the Counts of the Saxon Shore and the Lord Wardens of your ancient ports, though in a different sense and through a different instrumentality. The objects of both were the same, namely, the preservation in peace, security, and prosperity, of this happy England. That she may long enjoy this peace is the prayer of every Diplomatic Agent abroad, and when in our exile we remember

> This Royal throne of Kings, this sceptred isle,
> This fortress built by nature for herself,
> This precious stone, set in a silver sea
> Which saves it, in the office of a wall,
> Against the enemy of less happier lands,

there is no sacrifice and there is no exertion which we are not prepared to make on her behalf (loud and prolonged cheers).

A few months before he presented his letters of recall in 1896, Lord Dufferin presided over the banquet of the British Chamber of Commerce in Paris. Lord Lyons had but seldom attended this annual function, but Lord Dufferin regularly did so, to the great gratification of his trading compatriots, and they are by no means few in La Ville Lumière. On June 2nd, 1896, he took the opportunity to bestow a farewell retrospect over the relations between the two countries. All pending questions had been practically settled, the most formidable of some thorny problems that

had occupied the attention of Lord Salisbury and M. de Courcel having been that of Siam.[1]

He paid an elegant compliment to Paris which he styled the Mecca, the Holy City of the arts, the sciences, the graces, and the inventive energies that adorn, nay, create civilisation. The attitude of the Parisian Press towards him he described with deliciously mild sarcasm, as being at first one of "coyness." He had though, even then, little doubt that they would eventually recognise him as the genuine well-wisher of their country. He himself had been torn up "with bleeding roots," from among them in what—if they considered the eighty-seven years of their gay, energetic and hard-working ex-president, Sir E. Blount—he might truly call the very flower and summer of his day.

Turning to the consideration of his own official functions, he regretted the obligation of retirement, but at the same time, candidly owned that ambassadors might with advantage be retired at a still earlier age so as to allow of the promotion of younger men. And as to the sphere of diplomatic duties, he asked what did they see around them?

The whole of Europe is little better than a standing camp numbering millions of armed men, while a double

[1] The Anglo-French agreement of May 1896, provided that the central region, including the valleys of the Menam, Petcha-Buri, and Petriu was neutralised, the two Powers agreeing not to send troops thither, and not to obtain any exclusive privileges or advantages therein. At the same time France and England retained a certain liberty of action in regard to the tracts east and west of the neutralised belt.

row of frowning and opposing fortresses bristles along every frontier. Our harbours are stuffed and the seas swarm with ironclad navies, to whose number, I am forced to admit, England has been obliged in self-defence to add her modest quota. Even in the remotest East the passion for military expansion has displayed an unexpected development. In fact, thanks to the telegraph, the globe itself has become a mere bundle of nerves, and the slightest disturbance at any one point of the system sends a portentous tremor through its morbidly sensitive surface. We are told by the poets of old that when Zeus nodded, the golden halls of his Olympus shook to their foundations. To-day it would suffice for any one of half a dozen august personages to speak above his breath or unwittingly raise his finger, and, like in a heaven overcharged with electricity, the existing condition of unstable equilibrium which sustains the European political system would be upset, and war would be waged in circumstances of greater horror than has been hitherto known to the experience of mankind, and might eventually envelop not Europe alone but two, nay, all four continents at once.

Several dark events, such as the assassination of Carnot and the conviction of Dreyfus, combined to cloud the years of Lord Dufferin's Ambassadorship. He held relations with seven French cabinets, in itself some proof of the political unrest then prevalent. But though two or three of his opponents were never quite reconciled, the general popularity he achieved was wide and strong, as evinced at the fête in June, 1896, when he bade farewell to a brilliant assemblage, including the chief statesmen, diplomats, and leaders of Society in France.

CHAPTER XVIII

SPEECH AT BELFAST—IRISH LANDOWNERS' CONVENTION—VISIT TO BATH—MEMORIAL TO THE CABOTS AT BRISTOL—LORD DUFFERIN AT CLANDEBOYE—HELEN'S TOWER—LORD DUFFERIN AS AN ORATOR AND WRITER—RECTORIAL ADDRESSES—THE BREAKFAST CLUB—LONDON AND GLOBE FINANCES—CONCLUSION

LORD DUFFERIN'S retirement from the public service, though *cum dignitatibus*, was not to prove mere *otium*. Soon after his return home the Lord Mayor of Belfast offered him the hospitality of a banquet, a compliment which had been paid to him on several previous occasions and which the Marquess was at first chary of accepting again, but to which eventually he gave in.

The dinner took place on October 28th, 1896. It was, so Lord Dufferin told them in the language of the play bill, "positively his last and final appearance on the stage of official life." He also described the spell of well-earned rest on which he was about to enter, as a mere "appendix" to his career, but the *Times* properly protested against the misnomer. He added he knew he ought to feel like a young colt turned out to grass and ready to kick up his heels at all authority, but unfortunately

"inveterate habit and the iron discipline of successive Secretaries of State had saturated diplomatists like him with the creosote of discretion."

However, the speaker did not fear to touch on international politics, and the first remark he ventured on was one which everybody knows is true enough, though not quite in harmony with the suave and invariable optimisms of Royal speeches. "We were not the most popular nation in Europe." And this was so, in spite of the fact that our political relations with all the principal nations were good. The only exception was an outstanding dispute with Turkey, and yet not with Turkey or the Turks, but rather with the "sanguinary camarilla" that had usurped its administration and ousted the Porte from its proper functions.

Under these circumstances the uncompromising hostility of the Continental Press was a bewildering enigma to the ordinary good-humoured and placable Englishman. After referring to a recent speech of George Curzon's which he cordially endorsed, he remarked :—

> We Englishmen, safe within the circle of our tutelary seas, can form no conception of the haunting anxieties which embitter the existence of the nations of Central Europe, upon whose every frontier hangs black and motionless a threatening cloud of war, and whose citizens, even within the recesses of their innermost chambers, mingling with the prattle of their children, and with the tender converse of the hearth, can hear the ominous tramp of alien armies, the rattling of artillery, the thunder of their squadrons, as they periodically gather, march, and

manœuvre within, so to speak, a stone's throw of their unprotected fields, villages, and open towns.

We (he continued) were out of the path of the storm, in itself a cause of irritation to others, enhanced by the fact that Europe was divided for the moment—for all alliances were kaleidoscopic —into two hostile camps. Our leaning to either one or the other party would probably turn the scale. A person who sat on the fence was always an obnoxious individual, even though England's face was anxiously turned seawards rather than towards the Continent. Our colonial expansion was another cause of our unpopularity. In all these circumstances it behoved us to remember that no nation's independence or possessions were safe for a moment unless she could defend them with her own right hand.

In conclusion Lord Dufferin apologised for his "uninteresting" address.

But the fault lies with an unbidden guest, a phantom presence, a very Banquo at your feast, who, unseen by any one else, has been standing opposite to me all the time with uplifted and warning finger—the ghost-like presentment of Lord Salisbury (laughter and cheers).

You may, perhaps, wonder that the mere shadow of his late chief should thus overawe an emancipated ambassador, but such is the force of habit and the weakness of diplomatic nerves (laughter). I remember, two or three years after I had left Eton, meeting Dr. Hawtrey, the well-known head-master, in the streets of Paris. I shall never forget my dismay and embarrassment when he stood uncovered at my approach. The recollection of the occasions when

I had stood uncovered before him (though in an opposite sense) overcame me, so that I was quite incapable of returning his salutation with proper dignity (much laughter).

In the next year (1897) Lord Dufferin made an important pronouncement on the subject of Irish land. He attended the Landowners' Convention and spoke his mind freely against the state of the law as developed in various Acts passed in the course of twenty-seven years. The tenant right which he had in his mind when he supported the original measure (p. 75) was a tenant right founded on justice and not that caricature of it embodied under the term of the three F's. Perpetuity of tenure was virtually expropriation of the landlords. He made the humiliating confession that he and others had been deceived in their belief in the settlement of 1870. Within the last fifteen years by many Acts inconsistent and unjust, many landlords had been jockeyed out of their properties—properties guaranteed by Parliament. The letting of land was a crime followed by confiscation. A man bought a farm for which he went to the Court the next day and got his rent reduced and which he sold at a profit the day after that. This had enabled one generation to pocket a large sum of money and had made Irish rents rack rents for many years. As Lord Dufferin had disposed of the great bulk of his property many years before, it could not be alleged that these strong remarks were dictated by personal prejudice.

Among the miscellaneous articles he found time

to write after his retirement was an appeal in the *North American Review*, on behalf of the charitable fund then (1897) being set on foot for the sufferers by the Indian Famine. The article contained a somewhat long, but popularly written description of India, its climate, Government and people. The writer's opinion was that "India must be regarded as a poor but not impoverished, country." He pointed out, however, that there was a fringe of necessitous persons there amounting to some millions, whose normal condition approached terribly closely to the pessimistic ideal, and that on the outbreak of famine, charitable assistance became absolutely necessary to supplement official help.

On September 5th, 1898, we find Lord Dufferin at Bath, a former residence of his great grandfather, Robert Brinsley Sheridan. A public luncheon was given at which, before a distinguished company, his Lordship dwelt on the connection between his ancestors and their city.

It was there that Sheridan passed from boyhood into manhood, formed his early friendship with Grenville and Halhed, and tried his wings as an author; it was from the varied and brilliant society in Bath that he drew the characters of his two immortal comedies; above all things it was there that he met that divinely beautiful and angelic creature who became his wife under such romantic circumstances. It was to that neighbourhood that destiny recalled him to tend and comfort her upon her tragic death-bed. . . . A hundred years had passed since that event, but he was sure they had not forgotten that, though the great grandson of Sheridan he also claimed as his progenitrix

that sweet songstress who ravished the ears of their forefathers with notes, which she still seems to prolong in the guise of St. Cecilia on the canvass of Sir Joshua Reynolds.

In the remainder of his speech Lord Dufferin dwelt further on Sheridan's career and character, his remarks being much to the same effect and couched in the same strain as those in the introduction to his mother's Poems (see pp. 7-10).

He concluded with a complimentary reference to Mr. Fraser Rae's memoir of Sheridan which he extolled for its conscientious veracity.

The following day the Marquess visited Bristol for the purpose of formally opening the Cabot Tower erected on Brandon Hill, an eminence overlooking the river Avon and the whole of the city. The tower had been built by public subscription to commemorate the discovery of America by John and Sebastian Cabot, some four centuries before. There was a considerable gathering, including many visitors, assembled for the Bristol meeting of the British Association, and Lord Dufferin recalled that he had laid the foundation stone of the tower two years before.

Speaking of Cabot's achievement Lord Dufferin recalled that, though a native of Genoa and a citizen of Venice, John Cabot came to England and settled in Bristol. His voyage of discovery across the Atlantic, in the course of which he sighted Newfoundland (as it is surmised), took place in 1497, four years after Columbus's return. But before he arrived in England he was a con-

siderable traveller, and had visited Mecca and other places in the East. The result of his cruise was to open the door of the North American continent to Anglo-Saxon enterprise.

At the evening banquet Lord Dufferin asked his hearers what would be the condition of the western world if England had remained aloof from the conquest and colonization of North America, and if the Spanish race, Spanish political institutions, including the terrors of the inquisition, had overrun what are now the United States of America and Canada, as they overran the territories of the present South American Republics. But for Cabot such a consummation might very well have occurred. For many years after the return of Cabot to Bristol the priceless value of the territories he had acquired for the crown of England was ignored or forgotten, but thanks to the statesmanship and clear perception of one of the cleverest men of his own or any age, Sir Walter Raleigh, the true import of Cabot's initial step and the advantage to be derived from it were forced upon the attention of Queen Elizabeth and her Government.

In the course of a reference to the American war, then (1898) being waged against Spain, Lord Dufferin made a rather important remark.

> There was no doubt that during the course of the recent war, the Government of the United States had been made to feel that continental Powers viewed their action with disfavour and alarm, and that had not England unmis-

takably exhibited her determination not only to take no share in, but to actively oppose any attempt at coercion on the part of the European Chanceries, the ultimate settlement of the contest between Spain and America might have been very different.

In September, 1901, at Lord Dufferin's invitation, I paid a visit to him at Clandeboye on the subject of this very book, and retain the pleasantest reminiscences of my wanderings over the house and grounds, and conversations with the late owner. He shewed me his treasures, culled during his residence in various parts of four continents, and entertained me with a fund of his experiences, interspersed with anecdotes. During a walk round the lake he spoke a good deal about Syria (on which as well as on Canada he had dwelt at length when we met in Paris), after which, finding that I was interested in Afghanistan (on which subject I had read a paper before the Society of Arts), he talked a good deal about the Boundary Commission of 1885, and the Penjdeh affair, and the strategic retreat of General Lumsden on that famous occasion. He showed me the private chapel of Clandeboye, "in curl-papers" as he remarked, for re-construction was then going on. He also drove me through the wood up to Helen's Tower, the monument erected by him in honour of Helen, Lady Dufferin, and took me over the various rooms therein.

The Tower occupies the highest spot in the park, the summit of a hill commanding charming views of the surrounding and undulating landscapes, as

Photo by] [*J. Mack, Coleraine.*

CLANDEBOYE. THE LIBRARY.

To face p. 360.

well as of the bays and inlets of the ocean, and on clear days of the distant shores of Cantyre, Wigtonshire, and the Isle of Man. Verses by Tennyson, Browning, Houghton and others were shown to me, one or two inscribed on marble tablets immured in the chief room. A very interesting sequence of coats of arms, all in their true heraldic colours, exhibits the genealogical descent of the family from the earliest times.

The christening of Helen's Tower took place as far back as November 20th, 1850, the "ceremony" being performed by Mrs. Hamilton of Killyleagh, mother of Lady Dufferin. The latter, then a little child of very tender years, was also present at the function, while thirteen witnesses signed the attesting deed.

One of the most interesting features of Helen's Tower is the library founded by Lord Dufferin in connection therewith. An exhaustive catalogue has been compiled, and the preface thereto gives an idea of the nature of the works. Many of these books have of course been drawn upon for the purposes of the present memoir.

Helen's Tower Library consists principally of books given to Lord Dufferin by the various distinguished persons he had the good fortune to know during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Almost all of them contain the autographs of the donors, and several are adorned with their autograph poems. When the gift was from the hand of an artist he generally drew some characteristic sketch on the fly-leaf. But though the foregoing description applies to the great bulk of the library, there

has been consigned to its shelves a considerable number of volumes connected with Lord Dufferin's own proceedings, and with those of other members of his family. These have been included, not as possessing any intrinsic value, but as recording circumstances which, with the lapse of time, may prove of interest to his and their descendants. In a few miscellaneous French books there will be found autograph letters (not addressed to Lord Dufferin) from various distinguished Frenchmen, as well as some interesting French historical autographs in a volume by themselves. To these last there has been appended a photographic copy of a document subscribed by William the Conqueror and Queen Matilda and the Archbishops and Bishops of England conferring the primacy upon the See of Canterbury. As far as possible a collection has been made of all the works written by previous members of the family, beginning with those of Adam Blackwood down to the present time. Like all the rest these volumes have the Tower Stamp, but they are further distinguished by an emblematic tree from whose branches books are suspended, coupled with an indication of the dates between which the works in question were published, *viz.*, 1539 and 1900.

Turning to Lord Dufferin's oratorical powers it is, in a sense, unfortunate that so many of his best utterances were delivered abroad. I have asked two or three prominent men of the day what their views might be on this point, but the occasions on which they heard him speak were too few to enable them to venture a confident opinion. At the same time what was England's loss was the Empire's gain, for even the most Hibernian denizen of the upper air could scarcely vocalise in two continents at once. Lord Dufferin was one of the earliest

supporters of what are now called Imperialist aspirations, and, during the best part of his career, was strengthening the foundations of what is now a national policy. Having myself heard most British statesmen of the last forty years, from Palmerston to Salisbury, I cannot help saying that Lord Dufferin seems to me to rank properly among the highest. His style was not so very unlike that of Mr. Gladstone. Though not so fluent, it was scholarly, elegant and persuasive. But there were points of difference. Mr. Gladstone at times used to lash himself into a heat of excitement, while I am told that Lord Dufferin (a slower speaker) invariably held himself under control. The magnetic influence of the former probably exercised the stronger sway at the moment. On the other hand, I scarcely ever heard Mr. Gladstone joke, and Lord Dufferin's first inclination was to lead off with some humorous remark, which, at the very outset conciliated if it did not convert his opponents. I remember hearing the former deliver his famous speech on the Affirmation Bill, one of his finest efforts, but one which I suppose did not win a single vote. As a contrast let us take Lord Dufferin's speech at Victoria in September 1875, which, though couched in a less exalted tone, was so temperate in its language, so well-reasoned and yet so fearless in its arguments that it practically healed the breach between the Dominion and British Columbia.

He had remarkable alertness of mind and readiness of reply, witness the delightfully ingenious

suggestion that the obnoxious inscription of "Carnarvon Terms or Separation" over a rebel arch should be amended by turning the S into an R. Another instance that occurs to me was the occasion at a public banquet of his capping an adverse quotation from Sheridan's play of Pizarro. The incident is thus narrated by a friend of the late Marquess :—

Sir William Fraser, staunch and caustic Tory as he was, attended a dinner at the Old London Tavern when Lord Dufferin presided. Among the guests was Mr. H. B. Sheridan, member for Dudley, in the House of Commons. The latter speaking to one of the after dinner toasts, indulged in a panegyric of the Reform Bill. Sir William Fraser, however, had a memory. In presence of a chairman descended from Sheridan, and replying to a fellow-guest of that name, he could not resist the temptation to quote the passage in Sheridan's play (from Rollo's speech): "*The changes which they offer us are—a delusion. We want no change, and least of all such change as they can bring.* No, gentlemen," continued the Tory baronet, "I ask you to rely upon us—upon the time-honoured party that has maintained the Constitution, and stood by the principles of your forefathers—trust to us for the protection which is necessary to secure your rights and interests."

But Sir William had reckoned without his Chairman. "Their Conservative friend," remarked Lord Dufferin, "had forgotten another passage which might be applied to a certain party and its programme. '*They offer us their protection. What is their protection? Why, such protection as the vulture gives—covering and devouring.*'" Sir William Fraser was jovially extinguished amid roars of laughter.

Two useful volumes of Lord Dufferin's speeches

have been published, both by Mr. Murray: one by Mr. H. Milton in 1882, including all or nearly all the principal orations, from that early one at Newtownards (see p. 21) down to the reply which he made at the congratulatory banquet given to him by the Reform Club on his return from Canada (1879).

There are two among these to which I have found a little difficulty in assigning a proper chronological place in the early part of this book, *viz.*, the speech in the House of Lords on the second reading of the Paper Duty Repeal Bill, and another at a tenants' dinner at Clandeboye. The latter scarcely called for exceptional notice; the former was, of course, more important from a political point of view, though it naturally took the line that might have been expected from a consistent Liberal.

The other volume, "Speeches in India," was compiled by Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace and published in 1890, two years after the Indian Viceroyalty had come to a close. It not only contains the cream of the speeches (one hundred and seventy-seven in all!), some of which I have noticed in former chapters, but five extra-Indian speeches, *viz.*, one delivered on July 11th, 1883, at the Empire Club (in which he took note of the fact that "according to the computation of one of the most sober of our statisticians, before another century is brought to a close the English-speaking population will have expanded to one thousand

millions), and another at Belfast dated October 15th, 1884, just before he set sail for the East. The three post-Indian speeches in the same book, are (1) the oration when Lord Dufferin was presented with the freedom of the City of London (see p. 329); (2) a speech at the Ulster Hall, Belfast, on September 19th, 1889, on his return from India;[1] and (3) one at a dinner given by the London Chamber of Commerce at the Hotel Métropole under the chairmanship of Sir John Lubbock, now Lord Avebury. In the latter, after dwelling briefly on the trade statistics of England and India, he went on to justify the recent restrictions imposed on the Kashmir Durbar by the Government of India, and to defend that policy from criticisms that had been passed thereon.

The speeches delivered during the last twelve years of Lord Dufferin's life I have noticed in the foregoing pages, at rather greater length, it may be, than those in the earlier part of the work, as it seemed to me that readers might prefer to peruse in more detail what belongs to quite recent history.

[1] A most appropriate reference was made in that speech to the number of Irishmen who were then helping to govern India. A great Kerry nobleman, the Marquess of Lansdowne, had the supreme conduct of Indian affairs; a Bourke of Mayo, Lord Connemara, was governing thirty millions of Madrasis; a Waterford hero, the victor of Candahar, Sir Fred. Roberts was commanding the armies of the Queen in India; the Duke of Connaught was in command of the army of Bombay; Sir George White, "a most distinguished soldier, of whom his native Antrim might well be proud," had reduced Burma, and Sir David Barbour "had contrived, in spite of the treacherous debilitated and ever depreciating rupee, to evolve a surplus out of an impending deficit."

As specimens of his lighter style I may perhaps mention his sympathetic address to the *Comédie Française* at the complimentary dinner at the Crystal Palace in 1871, and his speech at St. George's Hall, Liverpool, on April 10th, 1869, on Charles Dickens's return from the States. In the latter oration he said that—

> The man who enables me to see more of the hidden beauty which still lurks about this world of ours, and helps me to enter more fully and more heartily into communion with the thoughts, the feelings, and the wishes of my fellow-men, confers upon me a greater benefit than if he endowed me with a sixth sense, or added to the span of my existence.

Mr. Dickens had, in fact, taught us "the duty of gaiety and the religion of mirth."

As to Lord Dufferin's literary accomplishments they were just what might have been anticipated from a man of his tastes, culture, and experience. Nowadays, when every educated person writes more or less, talents of this sort claim less notice than they did. Nevertheless, I think if he were judged solely by this standard, his reputation would rank high. Among his few poems "King Hacon's Last Battle" in "Letters from High Latitudes," is characterised by fervour and pathos, while his verses to the figure-head of the *Foam* are picturesque and charming. I have included in an appendix all the books in the British Museum Library catalogued under his name, with the press-mark in each case,

thinking that it may facilitate the researches of future students and readers. At the same time it must not be supposed that these form a complete collection of his published works, for reference to which inquirers might more profitably turn to the catalogue of the Library of Helen's Tower (a copy of which is also to be found in the Museum Library). There are some articles published recently which may not yet have found their way to the Tower Library. He wrote three contributions for the Boston (Mass.) *Youth's Companion*, a most interesting and cleverly edited publication. From one of these contributions I have quoted several passages in Chapter viii. The article describes the assassination of Alexander II. of Russia, and though meant principally for boy readers, for sheer interest, vivid though simple word-painting and forceful fascination of the terrible subject, it is better than anything of the same class that I have ever read. A higher level is of course attained by his delightful "Memoir" to his mother's "Poems and Verses," wherein his affectionate admiration and wish to do justice to a charming theme have combined to produce a picture as successful as it is pleasing.

Among his literary performances, special mention must be made of one out of several Rectorial addresses. Lord Dufferin was Rector of St. Andrew's University from 1889 to 1892, a period covering part of his Ambassadorship at Rome. He had had distinguished predecessors in the Rectorial

chair, among them John Stuart Mill, James Anthony Froude, Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, and Arthur James Balfour, whom he succeeded. These addresses, and those of other distinguished occupants of the office up to Lord Bute (1892), are given in an interesting volume compiled by Dr. William Knight, and published by the firm of Adam and Charles Black. But of all these speeches Lord Dufferin's is the one which, the editor tells us, the students of the University will cherish for generations to come, as well as the only Rectorial address to be found for sale on the bookstalls of railway stations on the Continent of Europe.

The Lord Rector seems to have appreciated the necessity, at the very outset, of lightening a class of discourse which suggests a heavy, serious style, and which many distinguished Lord Rectors have certainly managed to imbue with the maximum of ponderousness. He began:

> It occasionally happens, gentlemen, that young persons rush into matrimony with a keener sense of its delights than of its obligations. Something of this sort happened when I wooed your suffrages as a candidate for the Rectorship of St. Andrews.

He then explained that at first he did not quite apprehend the responsibilities of the office, and touched on his own inferiority as compared with others. But after debating within himself what to say, he determined to furnish his young friends with a few hints on their start in life. His first

piece of advice to them was to endeavour to reach a practical conception both of the length and shortness of life. Each one of them had about fifty years or eighteen thousand days to look forward to, and while much might be done in that period, it was necessary to husband both one's time and one's power. The principles of hygiene required to be studied and considered, for schoolboys and even men did "inconceivably silly things." Then there was the hygiene of our souls, or rather of our nervous systems, for "it is an undoubted fact that as men grow up from youth to manhood there is developed within their frames a certain nervous effervescence, which unless wisely and manfully controlled results either in physical excesses or else in various forms of hysteria," *e.g.* religious melancholy, *etc.*

As to the teaching of languages, Lord Dufferin was delightfully downright and emphatic.

> My belief is that our whole method of teaching the dead languages should be changed, that we begin altogether at the wrong end, and that this initial mistake is never retrieved.

He went on to cite his own case, how when he left Oxford he could do little else than translate decently a few Greek plays, some books of Herodotus, a little of Cicero and some Virgil and Horace that had been carefully conned. Later in life he set to work to learn Greek in the same way as he would set about learning a modern language. The

result was that he was soon able to read Greek as easily as he could French.[1]

These views must have sounded revolutionary in the ears of Lord Dufferin's audience, but I firmly believe that they must prevail at no distant date, and that the old tedious grammatical grinding process, through which so many of us have had to pass at Harrow, Eton and other public schools, is doomed. Lord Dufferin was an enthusiastic believer in the importance of Latin and Greek; in fact he said he could not conceive the meaning of the term education if either Greek or Latin was to be excluded. Of the two the former was the more essential.

Speaking of the necessity of cultivating a clear, business-like style, Lord Dufferin warned his hearers against metaphor and ornament. In nine cases out of ten he entreated them to tear these figures out ruthlessly, "even though they should shriek like mandrakes at the operation." He quoted his own unfortunate experience in his Report on Egypt, which had been condemned by opponents of the Government as "a literary exercitation" simply because he had inadvertently and innocently made a passing allusion therein to Memnon and the rising sun!

Probably the best part of this admirable address was the latter part which was devoted to speeches. Of course practice was the principal *sine qua non*,

[1] This accounts for his easy reply (in the same language) to an address in Greek. See p. 85.

and an amusing picture of nervous orators was presented.

> A multitude of thoughts utterly foreign to their speech and its subject are dividing their minds, while sheer physical nervousness imparts a further element of confusion. The fear of failure and its consequences; the dazzling spectacle of so many hundred attentive faces swimming before their eyes; the careless gestures and whisperings of the indifferent members of their audiences; the knowledge that their notes have got hopelessly mixed, combine to create a situation of mental torture which shakes the limbs, dries the mouth, and twists the tongue inextricably round the teeth.

He mentioned Macaulay and the late Lord Ellenborough as examples of orators who wrote out all their speeches, Mr. Bright as writing out the exordium and the peroration, and Lord Brougham as having written the last paragraph of his defence of Queen Caroline nine times. But the practice of learning a speech by heart was like swimming with corks, and fatal to the prospect of becoming a good debater.

After citing the recent instance of a choice of an ill-considered epithet, as having caused the fall of a powerful minister in Italy, he narrated the story of the trick played upon the House of Commons by Sir Thomas Wyse, who picked up the manuscript of an orator's intended speech, and, having committed it to memory in an incredibly short time, actually delivered it, to the amazement and disgust of the rightful owner.

Lord Dufferin was essentially a "clubable" man. He belonged to the Travellers' and a few other Clubs, and had also joined a small but interesting coterie called the Breakfast Club, which met at the houses of its members in turn during the Parliamentary Session. It was started by Sir James Lacaita in 1866, the first meeting being held on February 24th in that year. The number of its votaries was fixed at twelve, the first members being Sir J. Lacaita, Lord Acton, Lord Dufferin, Mr. Froude, Mr. Bruce, Lord Arthur Russell, Sir Frederick Pollock, Sir John Lefevre, Sir E. Head, Sir M. E. Grant Duff, Sir J. Simeon and Sir T. Erskine May. Small as it was, its gatherings appear to have been remarkably interesting and amusing, and in the year 1885–6 it could boast the proud fact that four of its honorary members were ruling the Dominion of Canada, India, Madras and Bombay.

Unfortunately Lord Dufferin's frequent calls abroad made his presences at the meetings but few and fitful. Nevertheless I light on some interesting passages in the "Notes from a Diary" of Sir M. E. Grant Duff, who was the recording spirit of the Club. For instance:

> Dufferin told us he had once seen a play in Paris, which turned on the adventures of his great grandfather Sheridan, and in which the *dénouement* consisted in the hero's carrying off the object of his affections from a back window in Bond Street *in a gondola.*

Another time he is reported to have been in exceptionally great spirits, describing admirably the

consummate acting in the Chinese theatre at San Francisco, a performance which in its old world reminiscences was so strange a contrast to its up to date surroundings. On the same occasion (in his trip from Canada to British Columbia, *via* California) he had been accompanied by various reporters one of whom diverged from the Viceregal route to pay a devotional visit at the shrine of the great Mormon leader. Brigham Young asked the reporter what was his name.

"Stilson," was the reply.

"Stilson—Stilson," murmured the great man, reflectively, "The name seems familiar to me, somehow. Let me see" (another long pause)—"oh! why, surely, did I not marry a Mrs. Stilson once?"

"To be sure you did," rejoined the reporter, "if you remember it was in——"

"Why, of course," broke in Brigham, "are you the son of Stilson of So-and-so?"

"Yes, I am."

"My dear Sir, I am really very pleased to see you. I am your uncle."

On May 21th, 1881, Lord Dufferin put in one of his appearances while making his way from St. Petersburg to Constantinople *via* London. Sir M. E. Grant Duff says that D. surpassed himself on this occasion, though his stories were just a shade too festive for solemn record.

These flying passages through his own country, in the intervals between the close of one foreign appointment and the commencement of another,

sometimes gave interesting opportunity for comparing notes. At one meeting of the Breakfast Club he talked of the social changes which he observed in London, the immense stature of the young girls, the late hours at which balls began, the independence of chaperons manifested thereat, and the improved dressing amongst the women of all classes.

In June, 1889, the Breakfast Club met at Mr. L. H. Courtney's, 15 Cheyne Walk, for the express purpose of meeting Lord Dufferin, who, alas! was sick in bed and could not appear. At the same moment Lord Dufferin and Lord Lytton, both ex-Viceroys of India and Ambassadors at Paris, *in esse* and *in futuro*, were both lying ill, within two hundred yards of each other. The same illness prevented Lord Dufferin dining with the Cloth-workers' Company, where whale-steaks had been provided as a delicate compliment to the noble guest's early Arctic experience. However, in the ensuing month a grand dinner was given to him at the "Athenæum" when a large number of distinguished friends assembled to do him homage.

The last literary task that Lord Dufferin was engaged on was "The Book of Helen's Tower." It is a volume of slight dimensions, comprising some twenty pieces of poetry, all dedicated to or bearing on some of the achievements of the family. The first is that really lovely poem addressed by Helen, Lady Dufferin, to her son on his twenty-first birthday, with a silver lamp and the motto *Fiat*

Lux.[1] To my mind this is really the most inspired poem in the collection. Lord Tennyson's lines (Helen's Tower here I stand, Dominant over sea and land," etc.) follow, and Robert Browning's short poem, Ἑλένη ἐπὶ πύργῳ, as well as contributions by Lord Houghton, Dr. Garnett, Mr. G. F. Savage Armstrong, William Cory, and George, Earl of Carlisle (with five verses in English, Greek, Latin, Italian, and French, respectively).

All the above treat of Helen's Tower, and Helen, Lady Dufferin.

Mr. Kipling's "Song of the Women" (How shall she know the worship we would do her?), a charming tribute to Lady Dufferin's great work, finds place here,[2] as well as an extract from Sir Edwin Arnold's "With Sadi in a Garden," or the Book of Love, being the words of a nautch girl, smitten with fever in a hospital. These two are dedicated to the Marchioness.

Then follow eight pieces inscribed to Lord Dufferin; verses by Lord Tennyson and the Duke of Argyll, a set of Latin elegiacs composed by the Master of Trinity, Cambridge, an English acrostic by Mr. Wilfred S. Blunt, a dedication by Sir Rennell Rodd of "The Violet Crown and Songs of England," and three other minor poems. Lord Byron's "Monody" and Coleridge and Moore's lines on Sheridan complete the collection. Of the book of Helen's Tower, one hundred copies only

[1] It will be found in Lord Dufferin's "Poems and Verses."

[2] It is also included in Mr. Kipling's "Departmental Ditties."

were printed and distributed among the Marquess's personal friends, just before Christmas 1901.

There is one composition I seem to miss among the foregoing: Kipling's clever and vigorous "One Viceroy Resigns: Lord Dufferin to Lord Lansdowne."

Amid some fugitive pieces the following is especially pleasing:

Currite, ducentes subtemina, currite, fusi.
Catullus.

LETTERS.

In countless myriads to and fro
These fateful missives come and go,
Weaving, like shuttles, as they fly,
The web of human destiny;
Letters of business, gossip, love,
An undistinguishable drove—
Until you break the seal, and then
They make or mar the lives of men.

D. AND A

A very pretty Latin version of the latter was penned at Freshwater, appropriately enough, a few years ago by the Master of Trinity.

Fata ferens hominum, nulla numerabilis arte,
Turba frequens tacitas itque reditque vias.
Ut Lachesis rapido percurrit pectine telam,
Sic regit humanas littera missa vices.
Provolat en! mixtum nullo discrimine vulgus—
Seria vel nugæ, fabula, quæstus, amor:
Indiscreta iacet moles; sed solvite ceram,
Solvite—sub cera vitaque morsque latent.

H. M. B.

It is impossible to comment on the later events

of Lord Dufferin's life without taking some notice of his connection with the London and Globe Finance Corporation. He accepted the chairmanship of that Company in succession to Sir William Robinson and at the suggestion of his old friend Lord Loch. The Company eventually collapsed, with an appalling loss to the shareholders. So widespread was the ruin and so natural the indignation, that a searching inquiry was instituted with the view of bringing the responsibility home to those who were really to blame for the catastrophe.

Investigation into a case of this sort is no part of the duties of a biographer, however dispassionate. The financial points are far-reaching and complicated, and whatever individual conclusion might be arrived at would never carry much weight with those who had lost money. It has been decided that a further legal investigation is now (April 1903) to be held for the purpose of threshing out the detailed facts and causes of the London and Globe crash, that darkened the closing years of the late Marquess and, as I cannot help believing, hastened his death. It is, however, clearly permissible to a writer to view the matter in a broader aspect, particularly with reference to the oft mooted question of the amount of responsibility for loss that attaches to the directorate, on the faith of whose good name so many embarked their savings in the concern.

There are some points connected with this topic which appear to me to have been rather overlooked

in the general run of the comments I have read and heard. Personal friends of mine told me that they invested in the London and Globe, secure in the easy conviction that all must go well in a concern with which so distinguished and honoured a name as that of Lord Dufferin was connected. And I believe this consideration influenced a large number of investors. It may seem late in the day to question the logic of these opinions, but it does appear strange that in this country the *personnel* of a Board should be held to be so material a factor in the success of an undertaking. One would expect that the instinct of a people, who have risen to greatness through their commerce, would lead them to rely mainly on the inherent soundness and paying nature of each enterprise presented to their notice. But the easy process of glancing at the names of the directorate, and making *that* the main criterion, seems to exercise the greater fascination. In railways, trading companies, or other industrial undertakings, the margin of profit may not be large and the dividends, though low, fairly regular. But of late years there has been an extraordinary development of what are known as exploration companies, empowered by wide articles of association to take up almost any venture that looks or sounds promising. The speculative investor in the United States usually turns to railroad stocks; in England he is more attracted by mines, so it is hardly surprising that over here new companies should resort, in preference, to that class of business.

And where a powerful concern not only deals largely in mines, but exhibits influential and well-known names on its directorate, the double temptation is, no doubt, very great. At the same time every investment, from consols downwards, has its fluctuations and elements of uncertainty, and gold-mines are well known to be about the most speculative of all, for the great majority of them, as is notorious, do not pay. When the almost inevitable crash comes, some time or other, it is only human nature to cast about for a scape-goat. Of course it is easy to say that the investor does not look for a large profit as a matter of certainty but expects "fair dealing." This is the crucial point that the courts will have to determine and which no one can presume to prejudge; but the result of such investigations as have been held up to the present, does not encourage one in the belief that there is much more to come out. Fortunately, there is now a general consensus as to the consistent attitude of Lord Dufferin. He may have been mistaken as to the wisdom of penetrating at all into the maze of City business; but the boundary line between speculative success and failure is often perilously thin, and if the former instead of the latter had attended the fortunes of the London and Globe, we should assuredly have heard a very different verdict.

His manly utterances before the last London and Globe meeting over which he presided, endorsed as they were by the unanimous voice of those

present, furnished the most satisfactory tribute to the integrity and energy with which he personally had endeavoured, so far as in him lay, to protect and further their interests.

The pathetic letter he addressed from his death-bed to the Official Receiver, explaining his ignorance of the Stock Exchange operations of the managing director, and his promise, should he recover, to give all information in his power—all these are fresh in the public recollection and do not need recapitulation. If, however, the painful story bring home to future investors the futility and unfairness of expecting the personal virtues of a distinguished directorate to atone for the intrinsic speculativeness, or it may be the positive unsoundness, of a commercial concern, the late chairman, were he alive, would probably be the first to feel that he had not suffered and lost in vain.

His last important public oration was his Rectorial address to the University of Edinburgh in the latter part of 1901. But though his quiet residence at Clandeboye was not marked by any very notable events, he was still to the fore and active whenever local functions in Belfast and elsewhere demanded his presence and assistance. On the day before I visited him at Clandeboye, he had made three public speeches at Belfast.

But the cares and anxiety that encompassed the disastrous "Globe" crash had sapped his strength, and in the early part of 1902 he suffered from such extreme prostration that he was com-

pelled on the advice of his doctor to take to his bed. Even then he continued to follow the developments of the "London and Globe" Inquiry with keen attention, and on January 27th, he indited the plucky letter to the Official Receiver referred to above. A relapse, however, ensued; on the last day of January the weakness of his condition had greatly increased, and although Sir William Broadbent was summoned and all humanly possible was done for the patient, no improvement set in, and he lingered on to pass peacefully away on February 12th, 1902, at 6.25 in the morning.

It is extremely difficult for a writer to arrive at a fair and satisfactory appreciation of the personage he attempts to describe. In tracing his various achievements, his correspondence, his speeches, often all the clearer in the invaluable side light cast by the opinions of others, one gets to form so detailed if not complete a picture, that the critic is gradually and insensibly merged in the frank admirer. One is made more and more aware of how unremittingly the subject of this memoir was labouring for the public good, and, human nature being what it is, one instinctively begins to make allowances for such failures as he might seem to have experienced. But in truth Lord Dufferin was extraordinarily, if not uniformly successful in whatever he undertook. His geniality of manner and accessibility to all disarmed possible adversaries; his robust judgment, combined with a remarkable gift of lucid exposition,

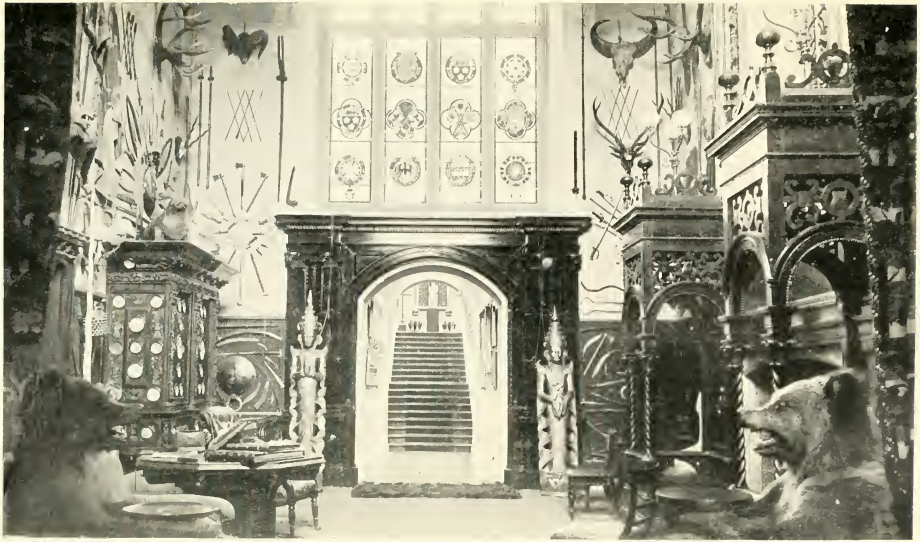

Photo by] [*J. Mack, Coleraine.*

THE HALL AT GLANDEBOYE.

[*To face p.* 284.

enabled him to define his commonsense opinions with a delicacy and precision which left no room for misunderstanding, while the courteous tolerance he showed for the views and feelings of others did much to reconcile opponents. At Rome it was said of him, "He would have made a frozen bear good-tempered." Moreover, his catholicity of tastes helped to increase his numerous friends, for, in addition to his many-sided literary culture, he was from his youth an enthusiastic yachtsman (the Badminton volume on yachting was in part written by him), and could take observations and work them out; while in many other pastimes, such as playing lawn-tennis at Therapia, curling on the Canadian lakes, or skating on the Parisian rinks and ornamental waters of the Bois de Boulogne, he was a recognised adept. The *habitués* of the hunting-field, whether in the County Down or in the Roman Campagna—he was then sixty-five years of age—found him ever a straight rider. At Clandeboye the hall and other rooms are rich in trophies of the chase which fell to his gun and rifle; in fact, he might be described as an all-round sportsman in the best sense of the term.

It is, however, in his higher achievements as an administrator and diplomatist that I find the most difficulty in emancipating myself from what has been rather unkindly called the *lues biographica*. I have confined myself to indicating what seem to be his main characteristics, leaving to the future historian, whose focus of observation may be less

restricted, to assign to Lord Dufferin his true relative position amid the chief men of his century. At the same time, it is undeniable that his far-sightedness in Canada, Egypt, and India, immeasurably strengthened the roots of empire in those distant regions, while his tactful grasp in handling our diplomatic ties did much at times—if not everything—to avert impending troubles of no light portent. Had his lot been cast in the ruck of ordinary political careers, his talents would almost assuredly have been hardened and possibly perverted in a measure by the exigencies of Parliamentary politics. I cannot but look upon it as a happy circumstance that his destiny led him to retire at a comparatively early age, from the dust and heat of the arena of party strife, and to assume the reins of power in exalted positions of virtual independence, where he figured as an almost ideal personification of the justice and strength of England's rule.

While these pages are passing through the press, the following charming communication reaches me from my old Harrow Head-Master, the Reverend H. Montagu Butler, D.D., now Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. It contains such picturesque reminiscences that I am glad to append it here.

TRINITY LODGE, CAMBRIDGE.
March 7th, 1903.

MY DEAR BLACK,

You ask me for some reminiscences of Lord Dufferin, and, in particular, whether I can throw any light on just one of the thousand public duties which

fell to him in the course of his strangely varied career, *viz.*, his Chairmanship of the Royal Commission on Military Education in the years 1869–70.

I may be permitted to give you, very briefly, the impression made upon a young schoolmaster by this singularly fascinating man, who was then entering upon his forty-fourth year, but had not so far come before the public as a man of "light and leading."

At the same time, a certain halo even then attached to his name and person. As the great-grandson of Sheridan, as the son of his beautiful and highly-gifted mother, as the author of a serious work on the Irish Famine of 1845—1847, and of that delightful *jeu d'esprit*, half genius half foolery, the "Letters from High Latitudes," he was already becoming a favourite with the nation. Much was expected from him, and those who knew him best expected most. His tact, his eloquence, his wit, his good sense and industry had already been fairly tested on more than one field. To all this you have no doubt given due attention.

In 1869 he became Chairman, in place of Lord de Grey and Ripon, of the Royal Commission on Military Education which had been nominated by Sir John Pakington, in 1868, on behalf of the late Tory Government. It was in connexion with this Commission, of which I was the youngest and the humblest member, that I first made Lord Dufferin's acquaintance. The Commission began business early in 1869, and finally reported in July, 1870; but its first Report, which alone had much interest for the general public, because it dealt with Woolwich and Sandhurst, was issued in August, 1869. It is this part of the work which is chiefly now present to my mind as throwing light on the bearing of Lord Dufferin.

He was beyond cavil an excellent Chairman. He held us all together. He made attendance a pleasure. He was charmingly courteous to everyone, not only

to his colleagues but to the numerous witnesses, who were mostly men of eminence, including H.R.H. the Commander-in-Chief. His questions to these gentlemen were searching, pointed, deftly aimed. They dealt at times with unpleasant facts or allegations, but they were put so pleasantly that they could not give offence.

It is not always the most important events of discussions, or even of a grave inquiry, that come back to one most vividly in after years. What I happen to remember best is what least admits of being put into words. On the one hand, there can be no doubt that Lord Dufferin took this Commission very seriously, and gave it his best powers. He was much in earnest in desiring to secure for our officers, in those days of purchase, the best possible education. At the same time, I used to fancy that I detected, now and then, a playful irony in his look and voice and in the adjustment of his eye-glass, as he planted some of his cleverly chosen questions, especially when they hinted at some frailty in respect of discipline on the part of the young cadets. Behind the conscientious zeal of the Commissioner, and at no very remote distance, there seemed to loom a genial *hinterland* of sobering Eton memories.

Quite apart from this, one feature in his Chairmanship struck me at the time with surprise. He had even then a high and highly-deserved character for eloquence. His speeches in Canada a few years later are models of a new order of oratory, a rare interweaving of playfulness and earnestness. But when he spoke at the meetings of the Commission he was the reverse of fluent. He spoke slowly, thoughtfully, sententiously, as if feeling his way, with something of a hesitation such as I have noticed in the utterances of Lord Palmerston and Count Cavour. Not that this hesitation detracted from the effect of his remarks; on the contrary, it seemed to concentrate attention upon them.

When, after some five months of inquiry, the time came for bringing out the First Report, the framing of it was in the main left to our accomplished Chairman. The matter of it had been already put into shape by our very able Military Secretary, my old Harrow schoolfellow, Captain J. Wallace Hozier, himself a former scholar of Balliol and an Oxford First Classman. With his skilled professional help Lord Dufferin drew up the Report, which was signed by eleven of the Commissioners, all, I think, except the venerable Lord De Ros, who had an insuperable aversion to a Staff College, to Regimental Instructors, and to any form of competitive examination for commissions in the army.

"I hold a strong opinion," wrote this fine old veteran at the close of his "Dissent," "that both for Sandhurst and Woolwich the entrance should be by a well-regulated combination of nomination and qualification, and not by the system of open competition."

It may be worth while to exhume the closing sentences of this long buried Report. They may seem to our generation of a somewhat optimistic hue, but few Blue Books are "a joy for ever." Viewed from the distant standpoint of thirty or fifty years, alike by their vastness and their colouring they not seldom provoke surprise. Even those who signed them in the purest good faith may live to share in the surprise. "Your Majesty's Commissioners," so ends this able Report, "desire especially to observe that, taking into account the character of the English people, the peculiar system of purchase which regulates promotion, and the social characteristics of the class from which our army is officered, they do not consider that the rigid uniformity of the instructional system which prevails in some continental armies could be introduced into this country. On the contrary, by developing what exists, by harmonising its component parts, and by bringing them into intimate connection with each other, we think our military educational system will assume a

flexibility and variety of type far more likely to produce good practical results.

"In the officers of the army your Majesty already possesses a body of gentlemen of the highest spirit, and inspired by the most devoted sense of duty. Eminently endowed as they are with natural aptitudes which go so far to constitute the excellence of the military character, we have perfect confidence that, when once the requisite facilities are afforded them of super-adding technical knowledge to their other qualifications, they will carry the perfection of military training to a point which has never yet been exceeded in any army in the world."

The writer of these glowing paragraphs was not allowed to live long enough to re-read them in the full light of the South African war. Doubtless it is a far cry from 1869 to 1902, but the language of optimism was congenial to Lord Dufferin. Hopefulness, sympathy, generosity, made him very keen-sighted to merit and the potentialities of merit, and perhaps a little blind to blemishes. It was this hopeful and gracious spirit which was to have its fullest scope and happiest range in the new sphere of labour just opening before him, his memorable Vice-royalty of Canada. He was appointed to that great post in April, 1872. He resigned it in the October of 1878, after delivering a noble farewell speech at Toronto on September 24th.

We had hoped for his presence at our Harrow Speeches in [July] 1879, but he had started for St. Petersburg. Part of the Toronto speech had been set for translation into Greek Prose for our yearly Beresford Hope Prize, and was also declaimed in English by the prizeman. Its theme was the same lofty theme as that which Pericles chose for his famous Funeral Oration. The object of the departing Viceroy was to make the loyal sons and daughters of Canada more and more proud of their Constitution, more and more "enamoured of their country." "What, then," he cried, "is to be my valediction, my parting counsel to

the citizens of the Dominion? A very few words will convey them. Love your country, believe in her, honour her, work for her, live for her, die for her. Never has any people been endowed with a nobler birthright, or blessed with prospects of a fairer future. . . . You possess the best form of government with which any historical nation has ever been blessed. Guard and cherish this Constitution with sleepless vigilance, for, though you search all the world over, it is not likely you will ever get a better. . . . You share an empire whose flag floats, whose jurisdiction asserts itself, in every quarter of the globe; whose ships whiten every sea; whose language is destined to spread further than any European tongue; whose institutions every nation aspiring to freedom is endeavouring to imitate; and whose vast and wide-spread colonies are vieing with each other in their affectionate love for the Mother Country, in their efforts to add lustre to the English name, in their longing to see cemented still more closely the bonds of that sacred and majestic union within which they have been born."

Lord Dufferin wrote to me from [the Embassy at] St. Petersburg to say how pleased he was at this little compliment, and sent a book of his own as a gift to the young translator whose mother was his own friend.

Another recollection dates from 1892, when, at the grand Tercentenary Festival of Trinity College, Dublin, I saw him eagerly watching from a box in the theatre close to the stage the excellent acting of "The Rivals," the masterpiece, as some might hold, of his renowned ancestor.

The year before, in 1891, it had been my good fortune, as Vice-Chancellor of this University, to confer upon him the Honorary Degree of LL.D. in our Senate House. Here, as at Dublin, he was the "observed of all observers," and was not too proud or too majestic to enjoy the somewhat tempestuous applause of his young and enthusiastic admirers.

During the last ten years I scarcely saw him, though

occasionally he did me the honour to write a letter on some point of scholarship, about an inscription or an epitaph. Shortly before his death I was touched by receiving from him a copy of his Address at Edinburgh, which, it was but too clear, had severely taxed his failing strength, and, still later, his very interesting "Helen's Tower," a volume containing various literary tributes to the memory of his deeply loved and adored mother.

Any man who had the privilege of knowing Lord Dufferin, even slightly, must regard him as one of the ablest, most versatile, most successful, and most fascinating of our public men in the latter half of the reign of Queen Victoria.

He filled more high offices than almost any of his contemporaries, except perhaps the late Lord Kimberley, and yet there were two offices which he never filled, though he seemed to have been born to them. He was never Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and he was never Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The annals of the Viceregal Lodge and of the Foreign Office, rich as they are in shining and stately memories, would have been still richer, and rich, too, with solid achievement, had they numbered among their Paladins the ever popular son of the authoress of "The Irish Emigrant" and "Katey's Letter," and the brilliant Ambassador and Viceroy who, before he was thirty-five years of age, was marked out for a delicate diplomatic mission by the discerning eye of Palmerston.

Believe me to be,
My dear Black,
Very truly yours,
H. MONTAGU BUTLER.

HONOURS AND FAMILY

The honours held by the late Marquess—apart, of course, from such temporary dignities or offices as are detailed in the foregoing pages—are given in *Burke*:

The Marquess of Dufferin and Ava (Sir Frederick Temple Hamilton-Temple-Blackwood, K.P., P.C., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D.); Earl of Dufferin and Earl of Ava; Viscount and Baron Clandeboye of Clandeboye, Co. Down, in the United Kingdom; Baron Dufferin and Claneboye of Ballyleidy and Killyleagh, Co. Down, in Ireland, and a Baronet, Lieutenant, and Custos Rotulorum, Co. Down; J.P. Middlesex and Westminster; Vice-Admiral of the Province of Ulster; Chancellor of the Royal University of Ireland; Lord Rector St. Andrews University, 1890-3; Lord Rector of the University of Edinburgh, 1899; M.A., Oxford; Hon. D.C.L., Oxford; Hon. LL.D., Cambridge, Dublin, Harvard and Laval Universities; Hon. Col. 3rd Battalion the Royal Irish Rifles (then follow all the various political and diplomatic posts he held); *b.* June 21st, 1826; *s.* his father as 5th Baron Dufferin in the Peerage of Ireland, 1841; was created a Baron of the United Kingdom, January 22nd, 1850; made an Earl, November 13th, 1871, and advanced to the

Marquessate of Dufferin and Ava and the Earldom of Ava, November 17th, 1888; *m.* October 23rd, 1862, Hariot Georgina (V.A., C.I., Grand Cross of the Turkish Order of the Shefkat and of the Persian Order of the Lion and Sun), eldest daughter of Archibald Rowan Hamilton, of Killyleagh Castle, Co. Down, and has issue:

1. Archibald James Leofric Temple, *Earl of Ava*; *b.* July 28th, 1863; some time lieutenant 17th Lancers; *d.* January 11th, 1900, mortally wounded at Ladysmith: South Africa.
2. Terence John Temple, some time 2nd Sec. H.M.'s Diplomatic Service (75, Cadogan Square, S.W.); *b.* March 16th, 1866 (now 2nd Marquess of Dufferin and Ava); *m.* October 16th, 1893, Flora, daughter of John H. Davis, of 24, Washington Square, New York, and has issue:
    1. Doris Gwendoline, *b.* December, 14th, 1895.
    2. Ursula Florence, *b.* February 7th, 1899.
    3. Patricia Ethel, *b.* March 20th, 1902.
3. Ian Basil Gawaine Temple, barrister-at-law; Assistant-Sec. to the Government of the Orange River Colony; late deputy-judge advocate S. Africa; *b.* November 4th, 1870.

4. Frederick Temple, lieutenant 9th Lancers, D.S.O.; *b.* February 26th, 1875.

1. Helen Hermione, *m.* August 31st, 1889, Ronald C. Munro-Ferguson of Raith and Novar, M.P.
2. Hermione Catherine Helen.
3. Victoria Alexandrina (for whom Queen Victoria was sponsor), *m.* June 4th, 1894, William Lee, Baron Plunket, and has issue (*see* PLUNKET B.).

The Marquess is senior HEIR-GENERAL of the Hamiltons, EARLS OF CLANBRASSIL.

APPENDIX

List of Works in the Catalogue of THE BRITISH MUSEUM LIBRARY, under the Name of BLACKWOOD (FREDERICK TEMPLE HAMILTON), MARQUESS OF DUFFERIN AND AVA, G.C.B., etc.

See Butt (J.): *The Irish People and the Irish Land; a Letter . . . with comments on the publications of Lord Dufferin and Lord Rosse.* 1867. 8vo. 8145, dd.

See Gushington (Hon. I.) *pseud: Lispings from Low Latitudes, etc.* [By Helen Selina, Baroness Dufferin, afterwards Countess of Gifford. Edited by Lord Dufferin.] 1863. Obl. 8vo. 1267, c.

See Lee (A. T.): *The Irish Church Question: a Letter to . . . Lord Dufferin on some remarks of his, etc.* 1868. 8vo. 4165, b.

See Leggo (W.): *The History of the Administration of F. T., Earl of Dufferin, etc.* 1878. 8vo. 9555, cc 5.

Tour through British Columbia in 1876. *See* Saint John (M.): *The Sea of Mountains, etc.*

See Stewart (G.): *Canada under the Administration of the Earl of Dufferin.* 1878. 8vo. 8154, e 20.

Contributions to an Inquiry into the State of Ireland, etc.[1] London, 1866. 8vo. 2238, b 4.

The Inaugural Address delivered before the Social Science Congress at Belfast in 1867. Belfast [1867]. 8vo. 8276, ff 28.

Irish Emigration and the Tenure of Land in Ireland.[2] London, 1867. 8vo. 2238, b 5.

[1] Contains two speeches by Lord Dufferin, delivered in 1865 and 1866, as well as the evidence before a Select Committee of the House of Commons, May 18th, 1865, and other papers.

[2] An expansion of five letters written by Lord Dufferin to the *Times*.

The Tenure of Land in Ireland. Abridged from the work of . . . Lord Dufferin . . . on that subject [entitled: "*Irish Emigration*," etc.]; with additions and alterations. Dublin, 1870. 8vo. 8145, df 3.

Letters from High Latitudes; being some account of a Voyage in the Schooner Yacht "Foam" . . . to Iceland. Jän Mayen, and Spitzbergen, in 1856. London, 1857. 8vo. 10281, c 28. Second edition. London, 1857. 8vo. 10281, c 29. Third edition. London, 1857. 8vo. 10281, c 25. Fourth edition. London, 1858. 8vo. 10281, c 30. Fifth edition. London, 1867. 8vo. 2364, c. 2.

Lettres écrites des régions polaires par Lord Dufferin et traduites de l'Anglais avec l'autorisation de l'auteur par F. de Lanoye, etc. Paris, 1860. 8vo. 10281, h 23.

[Another edition.] Pp. 302. Paris, 1882. 8vo. 10280, g 3. Part of the *Bibliothèque des Écoles et des Familles.*

Lord Dufferin on the Three F's. [Edited by W.] Pp. v. 25. 1881. *See Ireland* [appx. miscell.], *The Land Question, etc.* No. 6. 1880, etc. 8vo. 8146, b.

Mr. Mill's *Plan for the Pacification of Ireland Examined.* London, 1868. 8vo. 8145, bbb 4. (1).

[Another Edition.] London, 1868. 8vo. 8145, bbb 4. (2.)

Notes on Ancient Syria: a lecture. *See* Dublin—Young Men's Christian Association. Lectures delivered . . . during the year 1864, etc. 1865. 8vo. 4463, dd.

Speeches and Addresses of the . . . Earl of Dufferin. . . . Edited by H. Milton, pp. vii. 304. John Murray. London, 1882. 8vo. 12301, l 15.

Canada. Lord Dufferin in Manitoba. Testimony of the Settlers. Shipment of Manitoban Wheat to Europe, pp. 16. Liverpool, 1878. 8vo. 8154, b 3. (2).

And Boyle (George Frederick), Earl of Glasgow. *Narrative of a Journey from Oxford to Skibbereen during the year of the Irish Famine.* Oxford, 1847. 8vo. 8282, bbb 26. Second edition. Oxford, 1847. 8vo. 1390, h 16.

See Blackwood (H.S.), Baroness Dufferin, afterwards Hay (H.S.), Countess of Gifford: *Songs, Poems, and Verses. . . .* Edited . . . by . . . the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava, etc. 1894. 8vo. 011652, g 26.

See Hopkins (J.C.): *Queen Victoria, her Life and Reign* . . . With a preface by the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava. 1896. 4to. 10806, i 3.

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